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ABSTRACT

In 1987, the U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention contracted with the Social Science Education Consortium to study how law-related education (LRE) programs become institutionalized and what factors influence institutionalization. Interviews were conducted in eight school districts in four states and narrative case studies were created for each site. These case studies were examined to look for patterns, develop hypotheses, note trends, discover contradictions, and test generalizations. This report contains four main sections. (1) "Institutionalization: A Preliminary Model of Educational Change" summarizes the secondary research and describes the theoretical model developed by Matthew B. Miles and used in this study. (2) "Case Study Digests" distills and reorganizes the information from the case studies. Thumbnail sketches of the eight sites provide relevant demographic information. The information for each case study has been organized according to the characteristics that have an impact on institutionalization. (3) "Case Study Narratives" contains the full case studies, providing detailed, context-rich information about each site. (4) The final section of the report, "Discussion," attempts to derive meaning by extrapolating from the research data. It is here that researchers suggest patterns that seem to emerge, contradictions that require explanation, hypotheses that might be instructive, or phenomena observed, which, if characteristic, would be important to consider in implementing or maintaining LRE programs. A 64-item bibliography is included. (JB)

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INSTITUTIONALIZING LRE PROGRAMS:

Eight Case Studies

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I. INTRODUCTION

Background and Purpose of the Study

In 1987, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) decided to sponsor a study of institutionalization of law-related education (LRE) programs it had been funding since 1984. The agency had invested in a variety of activities over a period of years with the aim of bringing about interest, knowledge, and adoption of LRE programs throughout the United States. Although they knew that programs had been started and that many were still in operation, they wanted to document what actions taken in initiating and installing LRE programs lead to programs that persist. In essence, OJJDP was concerned with the following questions:

1. How do law-related education programs become institutionalized?

2. What factors influence institutionalization?

The Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. (SSEC), the assessment contractor to OJJDP's National Training and Dissemination Program (NTDP), was instructed to design a study that would help the agency address these questions about institutionalization. After preliminary investigation into the literature on institutionalization, educational innovation, and educational change, the SSEC designed a naturalistic research project based upon face-to-face interviews with practitioners in eight NTDP sites.

A thorough review of the secondary literature on institutionalization revealed that not enough was known about institutionalization in general or institutionalization of LRE in particular to construct a valid quantitative measure of the phenomenon or to indicate precisely what elements to measure. The most promising work in the field had been accomplished by Matthew B. Miles, who analyzed 12 case studies to create a model by which he sought to explain the process of institutionalization.

Based upon their review of the secondary literature, the SSEC staff decided to use the Miles research and theory as the basis for designing a research study that combined face-to-face interviews with documentary resources at eight LRE sites. Purposes of the study were:

1. To provide OJJDP and LRE practitioners with a rich and detailed body of knowledge about the perceptions that LRE practitioners have about institutionalization and the elements that impinge upon it.

2. To suggest hypotheses about institutionalization that may be tested later by other research or tested by practitioners against their own experience.

3. To provide a "real-world" check to confirm or contradict the theory and model developed by Miles.

Methodology

Qualitative or Naturalistic Research Paradigm. This research paradigm was chosen because the questions being addressed were exploratory and the information being sought needed to be rich in detail and context. Naturalistic research techniques were chosen because they have the power to help in understanding institutionalization from the participants' point of view. Face-to-face interviews revealed not only the participants' definitions and understanding of reality but also the meaning that they attach to that perceived reality. For example, the study demonstrated that participants' understanding of "infusion" or the appropriate role of "resource people" varied widely.

Selection of Sites. Eight school districts were chosen in four states that had participated in OJJDP's NTDP and were judged to have strong LRE projects. The sites were selected to provide

(1) broad geographic distribution, (2) a mix of urban, suburban, and rural sites, (3) a range of district sizes, (4) varied lengths of time in operation (all sites had been in operation for at least two years), and (5) sites judged by cooperating state coordinators to be "best-case" examples of LRE in their states.

Interview Protocol. The protocol was based on the following organizers adopted from Matthew Miles: (1) school district characteristics and the characteristics of the community, (2) characteristics of the LRE programs, (3) manner of implementation, and (4) individual characteristics. The original interview protocol was field tested and found to be too long. It was subsequently revised and shortened. In all, five versions of the interview protocol were created, one each for building-level administrators, central office administrators, resource people, state coordinators, and teachers.

Procedure. Two members of the SSEC staff (see the Appendix for description of the researchers) conducted all the interviews. The researchers made site visits of three to five days at each location to conduct interviews and collect documents. In conjunction with a local coordinator or lead teacher, teachers, administrators, and resource people were selected for interviews, and the interviews were scheduled. In all, approximately 20 persons were interviewed at each site.

The respondents were guaranteed anonymity. This anonymity was assured by giving each site a fictitious name and location and describing all individuals by position rather than by name.

The interviews were guided by, but not limited to, the interview protocols. The interviews were sufficiently informal to allow the conversation to range into areas the respondents thought were important. The interviewer was also free to pursue in depth subjects that seemed to have potential payoff. The interviews were tape recorded, and the interviewers took notes.

As the interviews were proceeding, the information was being analyzed and the researchers were sharing information about their results. In this fashion, the interviews in each subsequent site visit were informed by previous work.

Using their tapes (in some cases the tapes were transcribed for analysis) and documents from each site, the researchers created narrative case study descriptions of each site. These descriptions were submitted to the local LRE contact and/or the state LRE coordinator for comments. These comments were solicited to guarantee accuracy.

Analysis. Once the case studies were completed, the researchers examined them in total to look for patterns, develop hypotheses, note trends, discover contradictions, test generalizations, and look for evidence of the theories proposed by the original model. Based on this examination, an executive summary of the case studies was written and a presentation on the results of the study was prepared. The presentation was made to the staff of OJJDP and its LRE grantees at a two-day seminar. The purposes of the seminar were twofold: (1) to inform the agency and its grantees of the data collected and (2) to get their reactions as a means of further informing the study.

Final Report

This report integrates the material from the case studies, the responses from the local contacts and/or state coordinators, and the results of the seminar with OJJDP and the grantees. The information is organized to be useful to program directors and practitioners while maintaining its integrity as qualitative, naturalistically obtained data.

The report is organized into four major sections. Section II, "Institutionalization: A Preliminary Model of Educational Change," summarizes the secondary research on institutionalization and describes the theoretical model developed by Matthew Miles, from which the organizers for this research project were derived.

Section III, "Case Study Digests," distills and reorganizes the information from the case studies. "Thumbnail sketches" of the eight sites provide relevant demographic information as well as a sense of the themes and issues that emerge from each unique setting. The information for each case study has then been organized according to the characteristics that seem to have an impact on institutionalization. In "School District Characteristics," for example, the reader will find information about the school district, its organization, administration, financial condition, prevailing attitudes, and so on that have had an influence on the institutionalization process. In similar fashion, information is presented under "Program Characteristics," "Individual Characteristics," and "Manner of Implementation."

Section IV of the report contains the full case study narratives, providing detailed, context-rich information about each site. If a reader finds information in the digests that is of interest, the case studies will provide the full story as it evolved in a particular case. The case studies represent the fund of information from which the remainder of the report is derived.

In the final section of the report, the researchers have attempted to derive meaning by extrapolating from the research data. It is here that the researchers suggest patterns that seem to emerge, contradictions that seem to need explanation, hypotheses that might be instructive or the subject of further research, or phenomena observed, which, if characteristic, would be important to consider in implementing or maintaining programs.

II. INSTITUTIONALIZATION: A PRELIMINARY MODEL OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

In this section, we discuss the model of adoption, implementation, and institutionalization we had in mind as we created the interview protocols, conducted the field research, and thought about what we were discovering at the case study sites. What follows is not a comprehensive review of all the pertinent research we consulted. For a better understanding of that research base, readers are encouraged to consult Section V as well as the bibliography.

While our research was informed by an extensive review of the literature, we adopted and modified a model developed by Matthew B. Miles and his associates to guide our research. The strength of Miles' model was its focus on the structural and procedural elements of institutionalization. Its primary shortcomings, and the reason we modified the model, were its relative inattention to program characteristics, to the social and community context within which innovations occur, and to individual characteristics. The model and its modifications are discussed more fully below.

In his article "Unraveling the Mystery of Institutionalization" (*Educational Leadership*, November 1983), Matthew B. Miles suggests that, until recently, very little research has been done on why institutionalization occurs. He argues that we have been faced with a mystery, with few reliable guidelines to help us "unravel it."

According to Miles, most of the research on educational change up to 1983 stressed the "front end" of the process; that is, how innovations are adopted in the first place. A second body of research looked at the implementation of new educational programs. While this research did look at "continuation" of innovative programs, neither body of research focused directly on institutionalization.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, scattered work (some in education, some not) did focus on the issue of institutionalization. For example, Yin et al. (1978) studied public organizations and found that in order to become built-in or routinized, innovations must have minimum support by users and managers, must complete certain "passages" (e.g., going from soft to hard money), and must survive certain "cycles" (new budget rounds or personnel turnover). In 1982, Corbett and associates focused on post-implementation events (e.g., provision of incentives and assessment of effectiveness), discovering that even the official incorporation of an innovation into the school's curriculum did not guarantee durable continuation. In a complementary study of human service organizations, Glaser (1981) found that staff opportunities to discuss implemented changes and to receive feedback and reinforcement – that is, personal involvement in the innovation – were important to sustained innovations.

In these and other studies, the emphasis tended to be on the "fact" that "good," well-mastered innovations, endorsed by the users, would "just somehow stay around." Continuation of innovations was assumed to happen naturally, without any particular additional effort.

The work of Berman and McLaughlin (1976-79) cast doubt on this facile assumption. Their research focused on federally-funded programs, which tended to disappear after federal funding terminated. As Huberman and Crandall (1983) remarked:

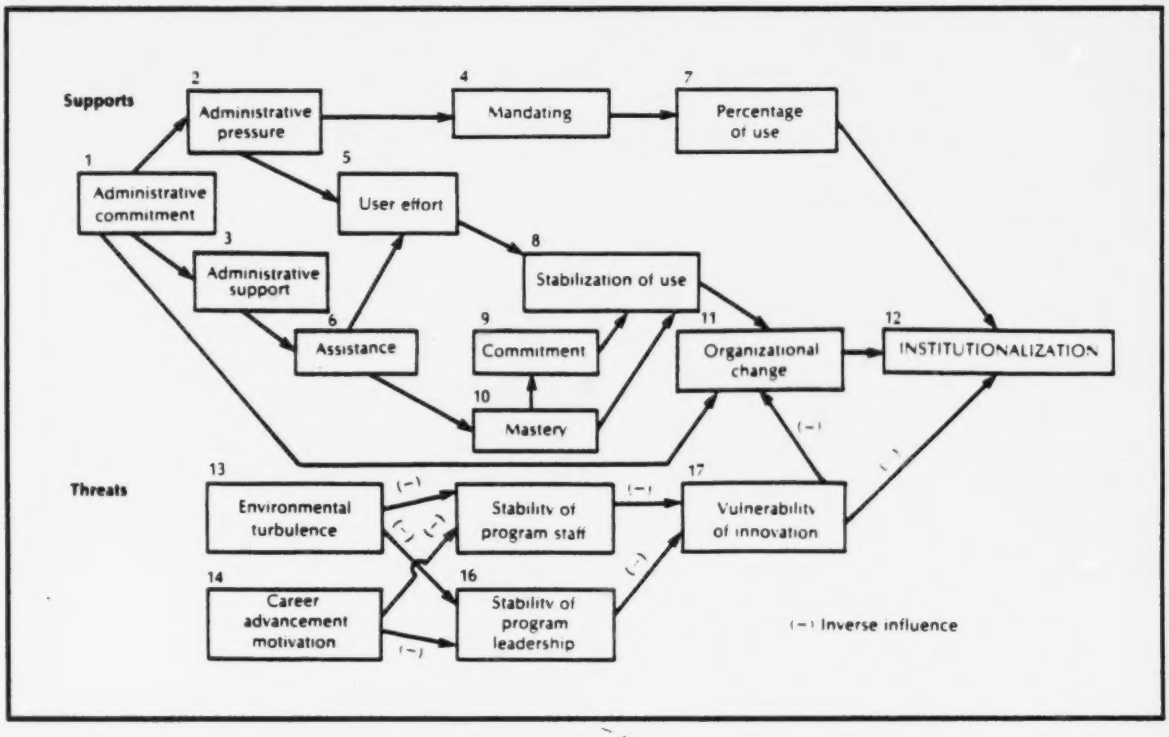
> In the chronicle of research on dissemination and use of educational practices, we first put our chips on adoption, then on implementation. It turns out that these investments are lost without deliberate attention to the institutional steps that lock an innovation into the local setting. New practices that get built in to the training, regulatory, staffing and budgetary cycle survive; others don't. Innovations are highly

perishable goods. Taking institutionalization for granted – assuming somewhat magically that it will happen by itself, or will necessarily result from a technically mastered, demonstrably effective project – is naive and usually self-defeating.

"Without some sense of 'built-in-ness,'" Miles suggests, "the fate of innovations is in doubt." For Miles, at least, the early studies tended to overemphasize the importance of user ownership, involvement, and technical skill in the innovation. What was missing, and what Miles and his associates sought to include, was the organizational-level structural and procedural changes required for enduring institutionalization.

In his own work, Miles (with Huberman and others, 1983, 1984) attempted to correct such overemphasis on the implementation stages of innovations and look more closely at the structural and procedural aspects of educational change. What their ethnographic, empirical research suggested about institutionalization appears in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1



A narrative summary of Miles' model and its basic hypotheses follows. Administrative commitment (1) is a necessary condition of institutionalization, but it is not, in itself, sufficient for an innovation to begin or to prosper and endure. The administration does not have to take the lead, but it does (at some point) have to get on the "bandwagon" if the innovation is to succeed/endure. Administrative involvement is of three kinds:

- pressure (2), as through mandates
- support (3), as through assistance (6) in the form of training or materials

- organizational change (11), by getting the innovation in the budget or textbook and curriculum revision cycles, promoting new organizational norms, and so on.

Both administrative pressure and assistance lead to increased user effort (5). Miles and his associates found that the more participants were engaged in or worked at the innovation, the more commitment (9) they had to the innovation; such ownership and advocacy also increased with mastery (10) of the innovation. Commitment and mastery lead, in turn, to stabilization (8) of the innovation's use. Such stabilization also increased through administrative pressure such as mandating (4), which also increased percentage of use (7).

These positive supports for innovation are, as Miles suggests, critical, but generally not sufficient to assure institutionalization. An array of forces tend to destabilize educational innovations. First is environmental turbulence (13)—cutting funds, declining student population, changing district priorities, emerging newer innovations. Second is career advancement motivation (14) of those involved with the innovation, whether through staff turnover (15) or mobility of leadership (16). If the innovation is not buffered against these kinds of destabilizing influences (threats), then the innovation may be said to be vulnerable (17).

In all this, Miles argues that if structural and procedural changes are effected (11), an innovation's vulnerability is reduced. The opposite also appears to be true. The general message of the model, then, is

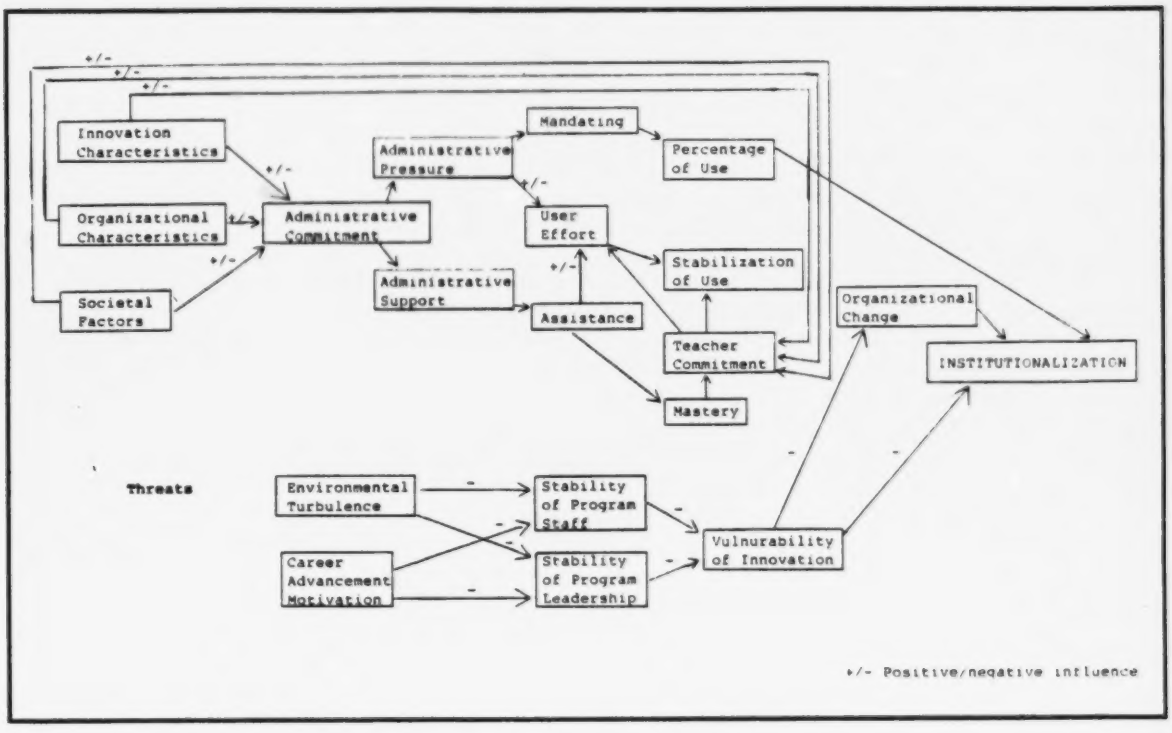
> that the enthusiasm, skill, and effectiveness of the innovation [and its practitioners] are insufficient conditions for institutionalization. Rather, what seems required is strong attention of administrators to stabilizing and supporting the innovation, extending its use to a large group, and making provisions to protect the innovation against the threats of personnel turnover that are endemic in schools. Making clear-cut changes in organizational structure, rules, and procedures seems essential both to stabilize the innovation and to buffer against turnover.

Finally, Miles also emphasizes the fact that administrators and teachers live in rather separate worlds; their problems differ markedly one from the other. Nevertheless, linkage between the two groups is essential for sustaining an innovation—and such links *can* be achieved. Teacher-administrator harmony is critical for successful innovation.

After an extensive review of the research literature, the research team judged the Miles model to be a workable point of departure for its own research. The research staff believed that Miles and his associates had outlined many of the important elements of educational innovation, particularly its specific focus on institutionalization. However, two important elements seemed to be underemphasized in Miles' model: the characteristics of the innovation itself (whether the demands the innovation placed on users or potential users would make adoption, stabilization, and institutionalization more or less difficult) and the social context in which innovation occurs (which seemed especially important for LRE).

Furthermore, Miles' model implies that teachers and administrators as groups are highly uniform and may be dealt with as such. A good deal of research suggests these groups are highly variable and individuals within those groups respond to things accordingly. The research team thus focused attention on individual characteristics. See Figure 2 for the modified version of the model of institutionalization.

FIGURE 2



While the modified Miles' model informed the structure and conduct of our research, we found reporting the results in this fashion difficult. We have therefore adopted a different organization:

I. Program Characteristics
II. School District Characteristics
III. Individual Characteristics
IV. Manner of Implementation

Still, we trust that the dynamic nature of the educational systems and the innovation being investigated here is clear. We also hope that the interrelatedness of the complex realities these categories attempt to describe is not obscured.

While the digests present a theme or themes about each case study site, they are not meant to take the place of the full case study narratives. It is our hope that these digests will pique readers' interest and lead them to delve more deeply into the full case studies. It is there that a more complete picture of each case study, rich in detail and sensitive to the context as well as dynamic nature of school systems and change efforts, may be found.

III. CASE STUDY DIGESTS

Although the digests that follow are shorter than the full case study narratives in Section IV, they are not merely condensed versions of those narratives. The digests differ from the full case studies in three ways:

1. Relevant data from the cases has been extracted and presented so as to provide an overview of the nature of each school district and to allow for direct comparisons of such factors as size and location.

2. Each site is characterized in a "thumbnail sketch." From the abundant detail of each site emerged a theme or themes—the essential story that particular place had to tell—that the "thumbnail" sketches aim to communicate.

3. Information from the case studies is organized according to four factors the literature about institutionalization suggests are likely to impinge upon institutionalization: "Program Characteristics," "School District Characteristics," "Individual Characteristics," and "Manner of Implementation." These factors are briefly described below.

Program Characteristics. Program characteristics are those elements that comprised the LRE program at the time of the interviews. This section includes descriptive material on the LRE offerings as they are described in school district course descriptions or curricular guides, the cocurricular activities related to LRE, the use of resource people from the community, the materials used, and the activities or strategies that are suggested or required. These characteristics are included because the research indicates that program characteristics have a significant impact upon (1) the likelihood that an innovation will be adopted, (2) the likelihood that the program will be adopted as intended, and (3) whether the innovation ultimately becomes part of the established curriculum.

School District Characteristics. School district characteristics include those organizational norms, attitudes, structures, and processes—both formal and informal—that make up a school district. They include, but are not limited to, such factors as authority structures, lines of communication, financial condition and financial arrangements, district size, age of the faculty, prevailing value system in the district, and morale of the personnel. This category also includes the district's perceived problems and strengths. School district characteristics have been included because researchers concerned with educational change have consistently concluded that the characteristics of both host school districts and individual school buildings exert a decisive influence upon the implementation and institutionalization of change.

Individual Characteristics. This category includes those characteristics or traits of individuals that influence the implementation and institutionalization process—value orientation, views on teaching, previous educational experience, and so on. While most of the research has approached organizational change from a systemic or organizational perspective, we have included individual characteristics because we found that the traits of particular individuals have played important roles in the adoption and maintenance of LRE at every level.

Manner of Implementation. The manner of implementation refers to the way in which LRE came into the school district, including the follow dimensions: (1) whether an LRE course was required or an elective for students, (2) whether participation in LRE was mandated or teachers, schools, and school districts participated voluntarily, (3) whether LRE was instituted as a separate course or infused in other courses, (4) what kind and how much training was provided, (5) the extent to which LRE was implemented, (6) where the program originated and what path it took to adoption and implementation. Research into the process of implementing and institutionalizing change

indicates that the way in which an innovation comes into a school district, school, or classroom has a bearing upon its fate.

BAY CITY

School District Data

Total enrollment: 62,000 students

Location: West coast

Kind of community: Port city

Socioeconomic data: Mixed population that is racially and ethnically diverse and includes the very rich and the very poor

Duration of LRE program: Approximately 17 years

Current program data:

- Junior high elective: Youth and the Law.
- Senior high elective: Criminal and Civil Law.
- LRE content and strategies are written into the curriculum guides for secondary U.S. history and government courses.
- Infusion of LRE is recommended at the elementary level, especially grades 3 and 5. Actual infusion at the elementary level is inconsistent.
- Cocurricular programs include a court tour program, a statewide mock trial contest, Law Day activities, and a fifth-grade poster contest.

Materials:

- Junior high elective: LFS *Authority* (Level V) and *Responsibility* (Level V), *Civil Justice* and *Criminal Justice* by CRF.
- Senior high elective: LFS *Justice* (Level V), *Privacy* (Level VI), and *Street Law*.
- U.S. history and government: The curriculum guides contain LRE activities, worksheets, and lesson plans.
- Elementary: LFS *Authority*.
- Cocurricular programs: Locally developed court tour guides.

Institutionalization indicators:

- LRE has been in the district for more than 15 years.
- LRE is written into the curriculum guides at some levels but not at all levels.
- LRE is part of the text adoption cycle and the inservice program for continued training.
- Through cocurricular activity, the legal community is involved and supportive.
- The delivery of LRE at the elementary level is inconsistent.
- LRE is no longer a priority in the district. It does not get the attention that it once received.
- There is no concerted effort to train new teachers.

Thumbnail Sketch

Generalizing about a district as large and diverse as Bay City is difficult; somewhere within the district, almost anything observed in the other case studies could also be found in Bay City. Programs began from both the top down and the bottom up. Some began with community members, and others began with individual teachers. Some teachers came to the program through intensive training programs, while others simply stumbled on to LRE. Some use community resources extensively; others do not. Bay City is characterized by diversity.

The key figure in introducing LRE to Bay City was a community member. She was the PTA president and the wife of an attorney who was looking for an activity for Law Day. She became a convert when she attended her first LRE presentation at a PTA convention. This LRE advocate also became a member of the school board, where she was influential in winning school administration and district support of LRE. Once LRE was introduced to Bay City, the history-social science consultant became the energizer who secured materials and training from the national projects to promote the growth of LRE in the district. It is ironic that in a district so large and bureaucratic, the program should be so firmly connected in people's minds to the devotion of individuals.

Program Characteristics

One can find LRE in many different forms in Bay City—two elective courses, infused to varying degrees in elementary classrooms, in activities and lesson plans in secondary history and government curriculum guides, in a mock trial competition, and in Law Day activities.

Materials used in Bay City include CRF's *Civil Justice* and *Criminal Justice* and NICEL's *Street Law*, as well as LFS kits on authority, responsibility, privacy, and justice. The characteristics of the materials that seem most important to teachers are their ease of use, effectiveness, and flexibility. The fit between LRE materials and the state and local curriculum guides has also been an important factor.

High-visibility special events, such as the mock trial competition, poster contest, Law Day activities, and court visitation programs, are a key element of the Bay City LRE program. The mock trial program in particular has created a high level of interest within the district. The outstanding performance of Bay City students in the statewide competition has generated publicity that is enjoyed by everyone in the district. However, the popularity of this event has caused some administrators to view the mock trial competition as the district's LRE program.

School District Characteristics

Bay City has long been recognized as having strong educational programs. Teachers generally feel the district is a good place to work; turnover is relatively low. The district also enjoys a high level of community support, including the endorsement of parents and very active assistance from the business community.

LRE came to Bay City in the 1970s; the social disruption of the times and a school climate sympathetic to innovation created a fertile environment for an elective program that stressed civic responsibility. In more recent times, the increasing number of racial and ethnic minorities in the district has led to the perception that LRE is a good mechanism for teaching culturally different students, especially recent immigrants, to be law-abiding citizens. Yet, more recent times have also brought other pressing concerns that compete with LRE for the attention of district educators.

The district has procedures in place for institutionalizing programs in curriculum guides and textbook adoption lists. These procedures have been used to ensconce LRE in the district's written curriculum.

Because of increasing district pressure to infuse new programs, such as child abuse, drug, and gang prevention, teachers feel that LRE is less of a priority than it once was. LRE is not implemented evenly from school to school or classroom to classroom.

Individual Characteristics

Individuals and their particular characteristics emerge from this case study as critical elements in the implementation and continuation of LRE. In the 1970s, the president of the PTA was also the wife of an attorney who was looking for Law Day activities. After being introduced to LRE at a convention, she became an LRE "missionary," convincing the assistant superintendent for curriculum (who became extremely supportive) and the school board (to which she was later elected) of the worth of the program. The assistant superintendent gave instructions to the history-social science consultant to involve the district in LRE. Through the consultant's efforts and those of her successor, training and materials were made available to teachers. The assistant superintendent also obtained board approval for adding two secondary LRE electives to the curriculum.

The respondents in our study believe that LRE persists in the district due to the commitment of yet another individual—the history-social science consultant. This man was successful in promoting LRE, in part because he saw the citizenship education goals of the district social studies program and the goals of LRE as identical. He could translate LRE so that teachers and administrators saw its relationship to district goals. His political sensitivity and skill were critical to the program.

Respondents suggested that several categories of people responded positively to LRE: (1) those whose teaching style tended toward participation and experience-based activities, (2) those interested in the law as a subject, and (3) those who saw themselves as facilitators of learning rather than purveyors of knowledge. Those who tended to respond most negatively were (1) history and geography teachers who saw their role as teaching those bodies of content and (2) teachers uncomfortable with participatory teaching approaches.

Manner of Implementation

Although the various LRE programs in Bay City had diverse origins, the main thrust for LRE in the district came from a series of events beginning with the PTA president and resulting in training programs, purchase of materials, and inclusion of LRE in district syllabi. LRE is infused at the elementary level, offered as elective courses at the junior and senior high school levels, and infused into history and government courses at the secondary level.

Extensive training opportunities were provided. An aspect of training that seemed to capture the attention of some respondents was demonstrating to teachers that LRE can get results and is easy to use. The most effective training persisted over a period of time, giving teachers the opportunity to try out the materials in class and share their successes and problems with other teachers.

Widespread training and access to materials in the early years was critical to the creation of an LRE cadre. Little or no LRE training has been available in recent years, however, and competing concerns have made it difficult to provide ongoing support. At the elementary level, severe time pressures have caused teachers to devote less time and effort to LRE. Some deterioration has also been noted in the secondary courses in which LRE is infused.

CAPITAL CITY

School District Data

Total enrollment: 45,709

Location: Adjacent to the state capital of a western state

Kind of community: Suburban

Socioeconomic data: Middle class with a strong professional core

Duration of LRE program: Over 20 years

Current program data:

- Twelfth-grade elective: Political Science: A Study in Criminal and Civil Law.
- LRE is infused sporadically in the elementary grades. The district has prepared a matrix showing where LRE issues are addressed in the basal series; there are plans to develop a second matrix showing where supplemental LRE materials can be infused.
- Four- to six-week units focusing on the criminal justice system have been developed for grades 6-8.
- Mock trial competitions are held for both elementary and secondary students. The competitions, with a moot court competition and debates, are featured in an annual law conference.
- A conflict management program exists in some junior and senior high schools.

Materials:

- The twelfth-grade elective employs three texts—*Street Law*, *Democracy Under Pressure*, and *The American Constitution and Civil Liberties*—as well as numerous supplements.

Institutionalization indicators:

- The program has existed since the late 1960s.
- The twelfth-grade elective course is included in the district curriculum guide.
- A strong cadre of trained practitioners continue to teach high-quality LRE programs.
- Teachers are hired specifically to teach LRE programs.
- Cocurricular activities continue to be supported by the school district and the community.
- No district-based inservice training has been offered for several years.
- The degree of infusion is sporadic, especially at the elementary level.

Thumbnail Sketch

LRE was initiated in Capital City in 1969. No one in the district was ever required to participate, but frequent opportunities were available to attend training sessions offered by national projects or by the school district's cadre of trainers. For those teachers who wanted to design and implement courses or units, the administration was prepared to approve pilot projects and provide resources. As a result, LRE's present form was never envisioned by those who initiated the program. The program that exists today grew organically along the interest paths created by an administration that

took advantage of opportunities for money and training and then nurtured the interest that was created.

In the 1970s, many resources were available to the administration of Capital City. Because of its highly visible location near the state capital and its national reputation as an excellent innovative school district, Capital City attracted national LRE projects to invest resources.

Under these conditions, LRE could thrive without official school board recognition. It was eight years before the school board gave official recognition to the high school elective, and it was not until 1981-82 that LRE was written into the school district curriculum.

Although there have been many changes since 1969, the social studies coordinator has been a constant. He has been a consistent supporter of LRE, not only in his own district but in the county and the state. His philosophy has guided the direction of growth, if not the particular structure of LRE in the district.

Program Characteristics

Capital City's LRE program is multifaceted, with various components having been added over time. The core of the program is a semester twelfth-grade elective—Political Science: A Study in Criminal and Civil Law. In addition to numerous supplementary materials, three texts are used—*Street Law*, *Democracy Under Pressure*, and *The American Constitution and Civil Liberties*.

As in many of the other cases, teachers responded to questions about the quality of the materials available by saying that they were complete and flexible; stimulated high student interest; were academically rigorous; fit well with personal, district, and state curriculum objectives; and were easy to use.

Other facets of the program include infusion in the elementary grades, four- to six-week units on criminal justice for use in grades 6-8, and a conflict management program that exists in some junior and senior high schools. This array of program components demonstrates that Capital City's organic approach to program development resulted in considerable variety within the district. It also resulted in creating teachers with a high level of interest and a high level of ownership of the programs they teach.

The cocurricular Law Day Conference is viewed by most as a success, a low-cost program with a high public relations payoff. In the minds of some administrators, however, the conference is LRE in Capital City. Interestingly, the district's mock trial competition is wed to both peer and cross-age teaching among students, an approach highly touted by those involved.

Resource people are still used, but the district no longer provides a coordinator to locate and obtain resource people, although LRE teachers can get such services through the regional LRE center.

School District Characteristics

The prevailing social and educational climate in the 1970s influenced Capital City's receptivity to LRE. Social unrest led some in the schools to look for ways to restore a sense of law and order through citizenship education. The spirit of experimentation that prevailed in education allowed schools to adopt a variety of alternative programs, including LRE. The "new social studies" movement gave rise to more participatory and interactive teaching strategies, which were also consistent with LRE's philosophy and practice. The district had well-established procedures for introducing new programs, as well as a tradition of rewarding innovative teachers. These factors, plus Capital City's preeminent position in the state and their reputation for innovation and excellence, contributed to the successful introduction of LRE.

These same characteristics have also made Capital City a prime target for other innovations. Although LRE continues to exist, especially in the secondary elective, it has suffered some due to competition from other programs at the elementary level. Shrinking district resources have also meant that the intensive training provided the early participants is not available for new staff people.

Individual Characteristics

Because participation in LRE, as a trainee or as a teacher, was strictly voluntary, individual characteristics were important in determining who became involved and who did not. Those who found LRE attractive saw it as (1) consistent with their philosophy or teaching practice, (2) a solution to a perceived problem, such as classroom control, student interest, or citizenship, (3) presenting content they were interested in, and/or (4) an opportunity to expand their horizons.

The particular traits of the social studies coordinator are also important. This person has been a constant force in the district's LRE and social studies program in the district for 20 years. He has brought a consistent philosophy to the program; in the absence of any school district design for LRE, the coordinator has shaped the growth of LRE and managed its fit with the social studies curriculum. His commitment to LRE led him to acquire resources for training and materials. His reputation also allowed him to be an effective advocate.

Manner of Implementation

LRE came to Capital City from the top down but not in the form of directives or required programs. Rather the district garnered resources from the national projects to institute training for teachers who were interested. The training was of various types, but one group of teachers who became the district's "true believers" received intensive, rather lengthy training (over 30 hours) that gave them an opportunity to learn and try out some new strategies. The corps of "true believers" became the in-house trainers and advocates who informed and trained other teachers within the district.

Use of resource people in the early years of the program was facilitated by employing a person who recruited and arranged for community resources. Currently, teachers are, for the most part, responsible for securing their own community resources. The legal community is particularly involved in the mock trial competition.

As is true in most districts, the individual elective courses tend to be taught by the people who are committed to LRE. If these LRE teachers also teach other courses, they tend to infuse LRE into those courses as well. However, infusion on a districtwide basis tends to be erratic, informal, and of variable quality.

SMALLTOWN

School District Data

Total enrollment: 3,300

Location: Midwestern state

Kind of community: Small town

Socioeconomic data: Economic base is currently shifting from farming to light industry. Many residents commute 60 miles daily to work in a neighboring state.

Duration of LRE program: 15 years

Current program data:

- Ninth grade: A one-semester course in LRE is required. This course was recently restructured from a tenth-grade elective.
- High school: Two electives—Law II and Law III—are offered for students in grades 10-12. These courses involve internships, field work, and independent study.

Materials:

- Ninth grade: *Street Law*, *Civil Justice*, and *Criminal Justice*, as well as some supplementary materials.

Institutionalization indicators:

- The ninth-grade LRE course is required.
- The high school electives are well liked by students; 80 percent of students take the course.
- The school board has approved a syllabus that includes course descriptions, philosophy, materials, goals, activities, and methods.
- The LRE program receives funding in the same fashion as all other courses.
- LRE has been in the district for 15 years and has administrative support at every level.
- Resource people are actively and regularly involved in the program.
- Annual training is provided to teachers and administrators.
- The program has a national reputation.
- There is dissension within the social studies faculty regarding the importance of LRE and the best way of teaching it.

Thumbnail Sketch:

The Smalltown story illustrates strategies for expanding a small program into an experience provided to all students. The program has adapted to changing educational priorities and trends. The case study also illustrates some of the obstacles and constraints involved in transforming LRE from an elective into a required course. The current LRE program, a required ninth-grade semester-long course and two elective courses for grade 10-12 students, evolved from a mini-course that was introduced in the early 1970s. Law materials are available for infusion into civics and U.S. history at the high school. The district is currently exploring the possibilities for LRE at the elementary and middle levels.

Program Characteristics

The current LRE program in Smalltown involves three courses—a required one-semester LRE course at the ninth grade and two high school electives titled Law II and Law III.

The required ninth-grade course was recently restructured from a tenth-grade elective. The text material used in the course is *Street Law*. Using the text with ninth-grade students has presented some challenges, but the law teachers support the interactive strategies embodied in the text, as well as the content presented. The social studies department chair, who does not teach law, is critical of the text, favoring more traditional materials.

Resource people are used extensively in the required course. A police ride-along, in which as many as 200 students participate each semester, is a special event developed in conjunction with the course. It has garnered considerable publicity and community support.

The mandating of LRE has insured that all students receive instruction, but the quality of instruction seems to have suffered in the following ways: (1) students are grouped by ability as they are in other required classes, (2) some teachers skip interactive lessons in which they are uncomfortable with the content, (3) student enthusiasm has declined because they did not choose the course, and (4) there is less agreement among teachers about the goals of the law course and its relationship to the civics course.

The high school electives involve internships, field work, and independent study. An example of an out-of-school internship is working in the county prosecutor's office, where students learn to write simple briefs, do legal research, and assist with the victim witness program. Community support is a necessity for this aspect of the program.

LRE materials *(Great Trials in American History, Bill of Rights in Action)* are available for infusion into U.S. history and civics classes. Infusion of law into civics and history is occurring among those teachers who see LRE strategies as high-interest and effective methods of teaching. In contrast, many other teachers have not used the LRE infusion materials because they have files of materials they prefer to those identified as law-related.

Law units adapted from the regular curriculum are also provided through the self-contained special education classes.

School District Characteristics

The community interest in LRE comes in part in response to changing demographics and attendant concerns about juvenile delinquency. Because the program developed during a period in which student interests significantly shaped the curriculum, the LRE course was expanded because it appealed to many kinds of students. The elective course provided a long, safe incubation period for testing many new strategies and ideas. The program evolved through cooperative effort of the high school principal, two teachers with law-related interests and background, and a cast of supportive resource people, some of whom were school board members. Support comes as much from personal relationships as from formal roles and policies.

School district support was evident in the transition to a mandated course. Structural changes included raising the social studies requirements to 3.5 units and allocating resources for training and additional materials. The current assistant superintendent continues to fill an active role in monitoring and maintaining the program. From a budgeting perspective, the LRE program is institutionalized because the course is treated like all others in the high school curriculum—no special attention or resources are required.

The future of the course is being debated within the social studies department. Some are lobbying for the law semester to be combined with the civics course. Some would expand the law strategies and content; others would reduce law to four weeks.

Individual Characteristics

The two teachers who contributed to the development of the course and the high school principal each had a personal interest in the law. All three also expressed an educational philosophy that is consistent with the LRE prescriptions, particularly as they relate to involving students directly in their learning.

One of the lead teachers has devoted a great deal of personal time and energy to developing special events, creating a regional network of LRE teachers, and providing coordination within the department. Some of the incentive for spending extra time comes from the personal rewards he receives from students, their parents, and community members. He also has received awards from the ABA and the state social studies organization. The program has been recognized in the NASSP bulletin.

The teacher-leaders of the program have employed a wide range of political skills in striving to expand and build support for LRE. These skills involved an understanding of the power base within the community, use of the media to publicize the program, sharing ownership of the program with key policy makers, using appropriate rationales for convincing key people to participate in the program, and working through administrative leadership to make proposals for change.

Some teachers in the social studies department—particularly those trained in history—have not been receptive. These teachers have expressed concern about noise generated as a result of the activity-based nature of the LRE class. They prefer more traditional student learning experiences—reading, answering questions, covering content.

Jealousy regarding the attention paid to LRE and the debate over the nature of the social studies reflects strong differences among department members over basic beliefs about what is important to learn.

Manner of Implementation

Particularly in the 1970s when LRE first entered Smalltown, curricular change was teacher-initiated and teacher driven. Because the district has only one high school, a decision made by a single teacher could significantly shape the district curriculum. LRE was introduced in this way, when the political science teacher (who is currently the assistant superintendent) was looking for ways to make his government class more interesting. Prompted by a personal interest in the law and supported by the principal, this teacher developed a law mini-unit. Positive responses from students spurred the unit to grow into a mini-week course and then a semester-long elective. Support from the community and district administration was strong. Although the teacher changed, enthusiasm continued.

In 1984, student interest and community support for the program caused administrators to consider law as a required course. The change was also supported by revisions in the state social studies guidelines. The law course became a requirement outside the established process, in that the high school principal took the proposal directly to the school board. The recommendation for change did not go through the established curriculum committee, nor was it approved by the chairman of the social studies department. This strategy was taken to avoid the harsh treatment proponents feared the proposal would get more traditional teachers. Lack of ownership and dis-

gruntlement with the adoption process have heightened tensions within the social studies department, constructing some barriers to institutionalization.

LRE teachers who have a strong orientation toward interactive strategies and interest in the law required little training. For these teachers, exposure to quality materials was sufficient. The training experience for teachers without these interests and skills is still being tested.

The state project's training of trainers has been critical to planning for training a wide range of teachers. The district has (1) sent teams of teachers to the state law conference for the past four years, (2) provided a day of inservice for teachers of the required law course three years running, (3) offered coaching and coordination from an experienced law teacher, (4) brought in experts from national projects to work with teachers, and (5) provided sharing sessions that include teachers from neighboring districts. A mini-grant from the state project has been matched with district dollars and personal effort to make these activities possible.

ELECTRA HEIGHTS

School District Data

Total Enrollment: 11,000

Location: About 6 miles outside a major industrial center in the Midwest

Kind of community: Suburban

Socioeconomic data: Upper middle class, with many inhabitants who are upper-level managers with companies in nearby industrial parks. The student population is 96.3 percent white.

Duration of LRE program: About 10 years

Current program data:

- An elective, Practical Law, is offered at the district's two high schools.
- Law is included other places in the K-12 curriculum, but it is not required. Materials are available for use in infusing law in U.S. history, government, and world history courses.
- A student court is a cocurricular component of the program at one high school; the court is open to all students.

Materials:

- *Street Law* is used in the high school elective.
- Supplemental materials available include *Great Trials in American History*, *Reasoning with Democratic Values*, and Law in an *International Age*.

Institutionalization indicators:

- The program has existed for 10 years.
- Student interest in the Practical Law course is high.
- The community is supportive of the LRE program.
- High-level administrators are not actively supportive of the program. The district has not sponsored inservices, and coordination across levels and between schools is lacking.

Thumbnail Sketch

Electra Heights might be viewed as two case studies in one. The core of the LRE program is a Practical Law elective offered at Spirit High and Eagle High. Although the two courses are ostensibly the same, their differences are more profound than their similarities. Spirit High's program grew out of the social and educational environment of the late 1970s; two teachers, after long-term intensive training, became converts not only to the subject matter of LRE but also to its participatory and interactive methods. In contrast, the Eagle High program came into existence because the central administration decreed that the successful program at Spirit would also be available at Eagle. The faculty was not consulted, nor were they given special training. In spite of its difficult beginnings, the law course at Eagle is now a popular elective.

The Police Liaison Officer Program, funded by four governmental entities, is a resource available to all teachers, from prekindergarten through high school. At Eagle High, the police liaison officer plays a large role in the program, both as a resource person and as the contact to obtain other resource people. At Spirit High, the police liaison person is not used as extensively. The teachers at Spirit tend to obtain their own resource people.

Program Characteristics

The Practical Law course at Spirit High employs the *Street Law* text but also draws from a variety of other materials. The course, Spirit High's most popular elective, is taught by two teachers. One started the program in the 1970s and continues to be a well-known LRE advocate and practitioner; this teacher employs the full range of participatory and interactive pedagogical practices and serves as a mentor for the second LRE teacher at Spirit. Both teachers consciously strive to develop the skills required in a democratic society. Students are given frequent opportunities to interact with resource people. Pride is taken in dealing with such controversial and sensational issues as homosexuality and AIDS. A cocurricular activity, the Spirit student court is also a very successful and active program.

At Eagle High, the program is nominally the same as that at Spirit, since it came into existence because parents and school administrators insisted that the popular Spirit program be made available to all students. The year of the study, most sections of the course were being taught by a business teacher who had no training in LRE. The following semester, a health teacher was scheduled to teach the course. The remaining sections are taught by social studies teachers.

The Eagle program relies heavily upon the police liaison officer, an employee of the police department who works with schools and is supported financially by the school budget. The liaison officer locates resource people and often works with students. With the exception of field trips and use of resource people, the course seems to be taught in a traditional lecture-recitation fashion.

LRE elsewhere in the curriculum appears sporadically and informally, although some materials are available for teacher use and the lead teacher at Spirit has made presentations at the middle school. The resources of the Police Liaison Officer Program are also available to teachers at all grade levels.

School District Characteristics

LRE was introduced to Spirit High in 1979 as a pilot elective course for 10th-, 11th-, and 12th-graders. The course was initiated by two teachers who had stumbled onto LRE as a result of their participation in two separate intensive teacher-training programs they entered for personal and professional growth. The innovation took place at a time when elective courses at the high school level were popular. The innovation cost the district almost nothing, and there was no fundamental change in the high school curriculum. The teachers had the support of their principal, who helped them gain approval for the pilot from the school board, which changed the name from Street Law to Practical Law. (It is interesting to note that the innovation that began in this rather informal way in 1979 would today require formal consideration by a review committee of some 30 people.)

In 1980 the Spirit High program added a student court as a cocurricular component of its LRE program. This component was an expansion of a mock trial activity included in the course. The court was supported and funded because school administrators thought it would help control the increase in vandalism.

The visibility and success of the Spirit program resulted in pressure being brought on the administration to offer a comparable program at Eagle High. The motivation for the program came from the central administration, not the Eagle faculty, who were told that they would offer a Practical Law course. Turnover among teachers of the course has been high.

No person at the school district administration level is responsible for law-related education. There has not been a concerted effort in the district to monitor implementation of the program, train teachers, or increase awareness of LRE. The police liaison officer has done much of the training of

new teachers assigned to teach LRE at Eagle. The state project has also provided training opportunities, which a few teachers from the district have attended.

Individual Characteristics

In many ways, the story of LRE at Spirit High indicates the importance of individual characteristics. The program began because two teachers were looking for opportunities for professional growth. One of these individuals, who stayed with the program, continues to be a well-known LRE educator sought out by other states because of his enthusiasm, knowledge, and success. This teacher feels that his career as a teacher is tied very closely to LRE. He is a strong advocate not only of the subject matter, but also of LRE's participatory style of teaching. This teacher takes pride in having a program that is nontraditional and can successfully deal with controversial topics.

Individual characteristics played a role at Eagle High as well, but in a different way. There is no LRE "cheerleader" at Eagle. The job of teaching LRE is passed around among social studies, health, and business teachers. Teachers have very little personal identification with the program, and seem to teach the course somewhat reluctantly. Resource people—especially the police liaison officer—carry a large part of the load. The Eagle social studies faculty seems to be more content-oriented and has not adopted the activity-centered teaching style employed at Spirit High.

Manner of Implementation

LRE at Spirit High was completely teacher-initiated. Administrators, by their own description, simply stayed out of the way. The teachers were motivated to create an innovation because they were transformed by an educational experience. In neither case did the teachers have a prior interest in or affection for law-related education. In one case, the teacher participated in a program sponsored by the local law school, working with third-year law students in 15 three-hour sessions to learn law and methods of effectively teaching about law in high school classrooms. The other teacher participated in a yearlong program based on the "new social studies." He chose *Street Law* as the curriculum he would focus upon. Subsequently, a new faculty member has been hired at Spirit. He has learned LRE content and strategies from the lead teacher.

At Eagle, the program was clearly implemented in a top-down fashion without the support of the faculty. No support was provided for faculty to receive training, except through informal opportunities to meet with the faculty of Spirit High (with whom there was already a sense of competition).

BASE COUNTY

School District Data:

Total enrollment: 44,000

Location: Southeastern state

Kind of community: Urban, suburban, and rural

Socioeconomic data: Mixed economy including farms, two military bases, suburban shopping centers, and an urban commercial center. Recent industrial growth has brought new jobs and population increase. The population is diverse both economically and ethnically.

Duration of LRE program: Over 16 years

Current program data:

- LRE is considered a part of the state's citizenship mandate. Citizenship competencies and objectives are specified for every grade level.
- A ninth-grade course focusing on the Political, Economic, and Legal (PEL) aspects of society is required of all students.
- Cocurricular programs include a Close Up program on Law Day, as well as Law Day poster and essay contests.

Materials:

- The primary materials for the legal portion of the PEL course are CRF's *Civil Law* and *Criminal Law*; a civics text and an economics text are also used in the course. Other LRE materials available to teachers include *Law in the Classroom*, *Lessons on the Constitution*, and *Bill of Rights in Action*.

Institutionalization indicators:

- LRE has been a part of the district program for over 16 years.
- LRE is in place as part of a required course at the ninth-grade level. As such, it is included in curriculum review and adoption cycles.
- LRE in the form of citizenship education is part of a state mandate to school districts, although implementation is not monitored.
- There is currently no effort to train new teachers or to provide renewal experiences for experienced LRE teachers.
- The legal community is not extensively involved in the program.

Thumbnail Sketch

Base County provides a textbook example of a local school district's successfully implementing an LRE program that began as a state department of education requirement. It is also an excellent example of how a successfully implemented program can deteriorate when its chief supporter leaves and the resources and attention devoted to the program diminish.

Those who led the LRE pilot effort in the early 1980s sought to achieve institutionalization by developing an ever-increasing cadre of trained teacher advocates. They had reason to believe they were doing everything necessary to institutionalize the program. Support for LRE was present throughout the entire education establishment, from the state department to the local school. Sub-

stantial public support came from citizens' groups and the legal establishment. Intensive training was targeted at teachers who were going to be teaching a new course that explicitly incorporated LRE. This high-quality, intensive training made converts out of many teachers and administrators. Money was made available to buy materials. The state curriculum guide was used as the basis for the school district guide.

In 1988, however, the LRE program exists primarily in the classrooms and schools of a shrinking cadre of committed teachers and administrators who continue to teach and promote high-quality LRE. Today, both the quantity and quality of LRE in Base County appear to have declined in recent years.

Program Characteristics

LRE in Base County reflects the state citizenship requirements, which specify citizenship competencies and objectives for each grade level. The required ninth-grade course focuses on the political, economic, and legal, aspects of society. The several cocurricular activities include a local Close Up program on Law Day, poster and essay contests, and field experiences.

Characteristics of LRE materials that were most often mentioned by respondents as significant in their use of the materials were high student interest, completeness, ease of use, and flexibility.

School District Characteristics

No evidence suggests that Base County would have adopted an LRE program had it not been for the state mandate that law be included as part of a required ninth-grade course. According to the regional social studies consultant for the state department, LRE was sold to Base County by saying, "The course is going into effect next year; let's get a handle on the curriculum before it goes into effect." The county social studies coordinator became an LRE advocate and a strong force in supporting teachers. This coordinator was the person who built bridges between the district and the state. However, this coordinator was replaced after the first year of the program; the new coordinator was less enthusiastic about LRE, has not encouraged as much interaction between teachers and the regional consultant, and has not provided the support and encouragement that the first coordinator showered upon LRE teachers.

All the teachers who were to teach the new, experimental ninth-grade PEL course were involved in LRE training. While the teachers who participated in the training were therefore not volunteers who discovered LRE on their own, the training and long-term follow-up support produced converts who still adhere to the standards of quality LRE without additional support or funding. Not all teachers have had such an experience however, as turnover among ninth-grade teachers has been high.

Individual Characteristics

To be sure, dedicated individuals contributed to the development of LRE in Base County. Nevertheless, implementation and maintenance of LRE in Base County were not dependent on the personality of a particular individual, as was true in many other cases.

As would be expected when LRE is imposed from above, the results in Base County were variable. Some teachers selected to teach LRE and receive training became devotees; others were not convinced at all. Base County's experience does demonstrate intensive long-term followup support that training can create converts. Most of the teachers who are still using both the content and methods of LRE reported being converted during the training sessions in the early 1980s. They found that LRE worked; students became involved and seemed to enjoy it. Most of these teachers reported that they used lecture-recitation teaching techniques prior to their LRE training.

Manner of Implementation

Base County was one of two sites in our sample that adopted LRE as a result of a state mandate. The processes and factors involved in developing awareness that were described at the school district level in other cases are evident here at the state level. The impetus for the state mandate began with a college professor of law who founded an institute for government. He influenced a state department official who attended one of the institute's workshops. Other individuals and organizations also influenced the state department's policy. Judges, the bar association, and some political candidates became advocates of LRE as a means of preventing crime.

Several of the project directors from national LRE projects helped organize a state meeting that brought together superintendents, members of the bar, students, the League of Women Voters, members of the judiciary, the state crime commission, police, and teachers. Out of this meeting grew a critical mass of support for LRE in the state and the creation of an advisory committee. Although no local advisory committee was established, both the regional and district consultants worked hard to cultivate local community support for the program.

For 16 years the state department has had nearly uninterrupted funding for LRE from private, federal, and state sources; this funding was used to develop materials, carry out training, and write curriculum. During this intense implementation period, Base County became involved and enjoyed the benefits of the intensive training and follow-up support.

The implementation model relied upon long-term, intensive, experiential training coupled with ongoing support. Because of the intensity of the training and implementation experiences, a sense of collegiality was established. Social studies coordinators, the state consultant, and representatives from national projects visited the district. Teachers were given opportunities to attend state social studies conventions and conduct training in other districts. Interviews with teachers indicated that those who were trained later, under less intense circumstances, were transformed to a lesser degree than the original cadre. In recent years, no training has been available to revitalize teachers or train new ninth-grade teachers in the district.

RURAL COUNTY

School District Data:

Total enrollment: 13,000

Location: Southeastern state

Kind of community: Rural

Socioeconomic data: Income levels are varied; some residents commute to a nearby city to work in furniture and textile mills while others farm or work in the tourism industry. Percentage of black residents (7) is below the state average; there are few other minorities.

Duration of LRE program: 5 years

Current program data: State guidelines encourage integration of law into the K-12 program. Rural County's program includes the following components:

- Ninth grade: one unit of a required one-year social studies course is devoted to the legal system; a local Close Up program is part of this course.
- Middle school: A drug education program (QUEST) is integrated into the health program. In addition, a law-enforcement sponsored drug prevention program (DARE) is offered at grade 6.
- Grades 4-8: A state writing/training project is currently developing lessons on law-related concepts to be infused in grades 4-8. Rural County is currently implementing a fifth-grade strand on authority.

Materials:

- Ninth grade: Materials used vary from school to school but include CRF's *Criminal Justice* and *Civil Justice*, a state-produced program entitled *Youth and the Law*, periodicals, teacher-made materials, and library resources.
- Middle School: QUEST and DARE materials.
- Grades 4-8: LFS *Authority* materials are being used in the new grade 5 LRE strand.

Institutionalization indicators:

- Programs such as DARE and QUEST are consistent with LRE but are focused on issues and content that the community is committed to.
- The school district is bound to adhere to the state curriculum guide, which sets forth law-related objectives; teacher commitment to and ownership of LRE are apparently low, however.
- The state provides support for LRE in the form of funds, training opportunities, and materials.
- LRE exists in the guise of such traditional names as citizenship and government, as well as the highly valued label of drug education.
- Training was provided in 1983 when the ninth-grade course was revised.

Thumbnail Sketch:

Rural County's experience with LRE is the story of a fiscally and politically conservative community's effort to maintain a state-initiated and mandated K-12 LRE program within the local social studies program. The state's ambitious goal of infusing LRE into all 12 years of social studies is constantly being developed and refined. Currently, major efforts are at the ninth and fifth grades, although the actual degree of LRE being taught varies from classroom to classroom.

Recent parental and law-enforcement concern about substance abuse has spawned locally sponsored and funded law-related programs that are delivered as part of health and counseling programs. The community is both supportive of and involved in these efforts.

Program Characteristics

The Rural County LRE program contains four distinct components, each with its own history, rationale, and features. These components include (1) a law strand or unit in a yearlong, required ninth-grade social studies course, (2) an LRE strand for grade 5 based on the LFS *Authority* materials (to be the first in a series of law strands for grades 4-8), (3) an affective drug prevention program (QUEST) that is integrated into the middle school health curriculum, and (4) a law-enforcement-delivered drug prevention program (DARE) offered at grade 6.

The manner in which law is taught within the mandated social studies courses (grades 5 and 9) varies among schools and within departments—depending on the interest and training of teachers. Because law-related education is broadly defined in the state curriculum guide, there is diversity in both approach and content.

Ninth-grade teachers report that ability grouping determines many of their choices of materials and strategies. Newspapers and library materials are commonly used in conjunction with the government text at the ninth-grade level. Some teachers were not familiar with LRE resource materials (for example, *Law in the Classroom*) that had been purchased with state funds and were available within their buildings.

Fifth-grade teachers are adapting concepts and strategies from LFS *Authority* materials for use in their social studies program. Because implementation had just begun at the time of the study, it was impossible to predict whether teacher-to-teacher variability would be as high at this grade level.

The QUEST and DARE programs, while not adopted under the label of law-related education, have some commonalities with LRE. For example, in the QUEST program, health and physical education teachers help students examine the need for rules and develop personal responsibility, decision-making skills, and refusal skills. The DARE program, which is not tied to any curriculum area, provides a structure for law enforcement officers to provide information about the law and assertiveness skills. The community is supportive of both of these programs. Community members are also involved with LRE through the local Close Up program that is incorporated into the ninth-grade course.

School District Characteristics

While Rural County has the lowest per pupil expenditures in the state, educators take pride in providing a quality program. The school district maintains 20 schools to serve a student population of 13,000. A majority of the predominantly white student body are expected to stay in Rural County. Less than 20 percent are expected to go on to four-year colleges.

Local school leaders look to the state for leadership in curriculum development and for funding to implement and maintain the basic program. Representation on advisory committees provides

educators and community leaders an opportunity to influence the direction of law-related education for the state.

The state-level effort does not preclude the development of supplementary programs, however. The district makes a more concerted effort to maintain locally developed programs than those initiated at higher levels. For example, local leaders are particularly proud of local Close Up—a day with local government leaders for 140 students. The drug-focused programs (DARE and QUEST) conducted with assistance from law-enforcement and community groups involve a great deal of involvement of key administrators. Little effort is made at the district level to relate these programs to the law-related programs developed and funded under state mandate.

Individual Characteristics

No particular individual has been identified as a key to LRE in Rural County. The characteristics of teachers have, however, been important in determining how LRE has been implemented. The training provided when the ninth-grade course was implemented five years ago was very highly rated by teachers who participated. However, most of the teachers interviewed are new to the course, have not received training, and are thus unfamiliar with the rationale, prescriptions, and strategies commonly associated with LRE. Only a few have felt the need to participate in any of the LRE summer institutes or conferences sponsored regionally by the state education agency. Most view teaching LRE as very similar to teaching government and politics.

In contrast, the teachers taking a leadership role in implementing the newly developed fifth-grade law strand were knowledgeable, well prepared, and motivated to implement quality LRE. These teachers credited the training with making teaching and learning more productive. Similarly, teachers of QUEST were fresh from district-sponsored training and enthusiastic about their role in teaching students about rights and responsibilities within the context of health and society issues. The law-enforcement officers who implement DARE found the interaction with students very rewarding but expressed little interest in relating their presentations to the rest of the curriculum or working closely with teachers.

Manner of Implementation

The Rural County case study illustrates the role that a state educational agency can play in designing and initiating the institutionalization process. The agency insures that LRE materials are purchased and that quality, intensive training is available.

Yet a top-down change model is not without its problems. Some of the problems related to maintaining a program that is mandated statewide are illustrated in the status of the ninth-grade course, which was implemented five years ago. At that time, teachers throughout the state participated in in-depth training for using LRE strategies. Today, teachers without training are responsible for program implementation, creating a major barrier to the comprehensive implementation that was envisioned in the state mandate. Limited state funds prevent the regional office from providing training for the large number of teachers newly assigned to ninth grade each year. Getting materials and information to teachers is difficult, since no one person in Rural County is responsible for insuring quality implementation (as is the case with the locally sponsored drug-focused programs). Counties are reluctant to pay for the costs of teacher training in state-mandated courses. As a result, law is often taught as a course in government and politics.

The state anticipates that a competency test on law (similar to one already in place for government and economics) will result in improvement in the law component of the course.

The infusion approach taken by the state – that law is important and should be part of the curriculum every year – is very ambitious. The broad framework for presenting law has resulted in lack of an agreed-upon definition among teachers. Teachers express strong commitment to teaching law, but the classroom LRE experiences teachers are providing can be difficult to identify.

HERITAGE SPRINGS

School District Data

Total enrollment: 13,000

Location: Within commuting distance of two major Eastern urban centers

Kind of community: Medium-sized city

Socioeconomic data: Shifting from an industrial base to one based on technology and services; highways are making commuting possible, causing the indigenous population of miners and farmers to accommodate commuters and minorities.

Duration of LRE Program: 17 years

Current program data: The state's "Twelve Goals of Quality Education" include a statement about understanding the system of government and acquiring the values and attitudes necessary for "responsible citizenship." This policy gives a strong "citizenship" flavor to the district's LRE program, which includes the following components:

- Elementary: Each grade-level curriculum guide provides objectives, activities, suggested materials, and evaluation strategies for infusing citizenship into social studies.
- Middle School: The grade 8 American Citizenship course emphasizes law-related concepts.
- High School: Two semester-long elective courses are offered at grade 11 – Civil Justice and Criminal Justice. LRE material is also infused into the required twelfth-grade American government course and two required American history courses.
- Cocurricular: Mock trial competition, Law Day observances, and student day in government.

Materials:

- Elementary: The Justice Education Teaching Strategies (JETS) developed by the state.
- Middle School: *The Young American Citizen* is the primary text used in the eighth-grade course. Supplemental materials include *Street Law* and the *Justice in Urban America* series, as well as a variety of state- and locally-produced resource materials.
- High School: Teachers of the grade 11 elective may choose from a variety of materials, including *Street Law* and such materials produced by the state as a statute book on criminal law, media, mock trials, and exercises. Teachers infusing LRE into other courses most commonly cite the newspapers as the material used.

Institutionalization indicators:

- The school district provides money for training, curriculum renewal, and materials.
- Grade-level curriculum guides contain specific LRE activities.
- The eighth-grade course includes a required nine-week LRE unit.
- Two electives have been instituted at the high school level.
- LRE has been adapted to meet the community's expectations for a traditional approach to government and citizenship.
- LRE resource people are regularly used in classrooms.

- Recent training has been provided to revitalize the program after almost 20 years.
- LRE has been revised periodically throughout its 20-year history.

Thumbnail Sketch:

The Heritage Springs case study illustrates how LRE was adapted to match the expectations of a conservative community and the structure of a traditional social studies program. Heritage Springs (population 103,000) is a northeastern city shaped by the industrial revolution. The citizens of this All-American City have supported a traditional school system in the midst of a changing economic base and a shifting population. LRE is thus presented as a component of citizenship education.

Teachers in Heritage Springs express strong ownership of the program. An infusion approach allows teachers to determine how and when to include LRE strategies and materials. State-developed materials (JETS) are available for K-5 teachers and counselors; additional opportunities for infusing LRE instruction are found in the grade 12 government and grade 11 U.S. history courses. The middle school program emphasizes understanding of the legal system through a nine-week unit in a yearlong course called American Citizenship; two law electives, Civil Justice and Criminal Justice, appear in the senior high curriculum. A variety of materials are available for use in these courses. Special events include a mock trial competition, Law Day observances, student day in government, and bicentennial projects.

Because of the autonomy teachers have in implementing LRE, there is a great deal of variability in what is taught and how it is taught. Currently, the program is undergoing a period of renewal because of training opportunities offered through participation in the OJJDP program. The long-term effects of this renewal remain to be seen.

Program Characteristics

Citizenship and teacher choice through infusion are key words shaping the law-related program in Heritage Springs. The opportunity for infusion occurs throughout the elementary, middle, and high school curriculum. The definition of what LRE is, and the quantity and quality of instruction through infusion, varies widely, however, as the decision about what gets infused is made teacher by teacher.

The K-5 social studies program follows an expanding environments model; complementary LRE activities and objectives have been written into the curriculum guides at each level. The JETS program provides lessons that support the guides. Although the JETS materials can be used by teachers or counselors, schools are not required to use them. The ways in which teachers meet the objectives laid out in the guide are essentially left up to them. The most important factor elementary teachers cited in determining whether they use LRE materials was how easily they could be "slipped" into the curriculum.

In those elementary schools where reading scores are low, there is less infusion of law or any other social studies subject than is found in schools not subjected to community pressure to raise test scores. Law is most often infused at the beginning of the year as part of a discussion of rules, through the counseling program, or as a special event—essay contest, law week, or schoolwide project.

At the middle-school level, the American Citizenship course for grade 8 provides a strong emphasis on law-related concepts, with one nine-week unit devoted to the legal system. The text for the course is a standard civics book, but *Street Law* is provided as a teacher reference and the now out-of-print *Justice in Urban America Series* is also used. Middle school teachers are enthusiastic about

their text because it does not prescribe a particular approach to law-related education but lends itself well to use of outside material.

At the high school level, students can elect two semesters of law—Civil Justice and Criminal Justice—during their junior year. *Street Law* is one of the many materials used for these two elective courses. Some law-related material is also infused in the required two-year U.S. history sequence and the required senior government course. The most commonly used material for infusing LRE in these courses is the newspaper.

While teachers feel a great deal of ownership of the curriculum guides and adhere to the content objectives specified there, they do not see particular methods as a necessary part of law-related education. This is particularly true at the high school level. The district, in turn, does not prescribe the use of interactive and participatory instructional strategies.

Use of the community in the LRE program is a very successful feature of Heritage Spring's program. Every teacher interviewed had used resource people during the year, many interactively. The community resource people have responded very positively to the district leadership's invitation to participate. The social studies coordinator serves as a go-between for teachers who do now know resource people to invite to their classroom.

The district also has a long tradition of integrating special events into the ongoing program, picking and choosing from many available options. For example, more than 1,100 students participate in an essay contest on the Constitution. Ongoing special events are a Law Day program, mock trial competition, and student government day.

School District Characteristics

Citizenship education is broadly defined and strongly supported in Heritage Springs. Law-related education as it was introduced during the early 1970s has been redefined over the years to fit within a traditional, tracked, academically-oriented program. Delinquency prevention was not cited as a reason for having LRE. The district, through a grass-roots process, has moved toward materials and strategies that are in keeping with community expectations and building norms.

The law-related component of the curriculum, updated by teacher committees in 1978 and 1983, contains little that is prescriptive. The program varies with the perceived abilities of the learners and teaching styles. Administrators give teachers a great deal of latitude to determine what is taught and how to teach it. With support from the social studies consultant, teachers consistently invite community members to participate in the delivery of instruction. Law receives support similar to other social studies courses; for example, the district pays similar attention to global education and geography.

Changes in state social studies requirements (more history) have resulted in fewer students receiving law (some as a requirement, others as an elective). Decentralization of the staff development budget means that the district-level administrators have less ability to plan and control the type of inservice that teachers receive; teachers have choices in attending training opportunities that are offered. District and community funds have been used to revitalize the program through participation in the OJJDP-initiated target state program.

Respondents at all levels expressed satisfaction with the types and levels of support available for LRE, including funding, participation by resource people, materials, and opportunities for training.

Individual Characteristics

Teachers express a strong sense of ownership of their curriculum; they appreciate the latitude that they have had in implementing a broadly defined citizenship program. Many of those interviewed expressed a preference for a teacher-centered classroom and mastery of content objectives, in contrast to teachers in some other locations who indicated that they were attracted to LRE because of strategies that involved students in their own learning.

Most of the teachers, administrators, and resource people were raised in the area and hold a philosophy of education that is consistent with that of the community.

Manner of Implementation

Most respondents had difficulty describing the process by which LRE came to Heritage Springs. Several reasons for this suggest themselves. First, the district has not defined law-related education as a distinct program, so different people define LRE differently. Second, LRE has been added to the curriculum primarily through gradual infusion, which has not required districtwide action. Finally, the process of developing LRE has taken place over a number of years, responding to availability of outside funding, state mandates, and teachers' responses to particular instructional materials.

Perhaps because of these factors, most teachers currently teaching LRE have had little or no exposure to national or state project trainers or materials. In the early 1970s, some teachers attended training in which law was introduced and emphasized as part of the new social studies. In 1982, elementary teachers were able to attend training on the JETS program.

Local training has included grade-level teacher sharing sessions, as well as presentations by the social studies coordinator and an experienced law teacher with a criminal justice background. Training is usually planned so that it can apply to teachers at several or all grade levels or even teachers of several subject areas. Training, whether or not it is offered during school time, is optional for teachers.

The needs and preferences that teachers expressed for training varied widely. Secondary teachers expressed a preference for expert presentations emphasizing content. At the middle and elementary levels, teachers valued the opportunity to share ideas for classroom activities.

Participating in the OJJDP-sponsored program has offered an opportunity for revitalizing the program. The training of trainers has resulted in a commitment to renewal of a longstanding program and a refocusing of the "whats" and "whys" of LRE. Use of resource people has been identified as a training priority.

EASTLAKE

School District Data

Total enrollment: 2,848 students

Location: Along the eastern border of a state contiguous to one of the east coast's most heavily populated metropolitan centers

Kind of community: Suburban and rural

Socioeconomic data: Largely middle class, with many commuters; few minority students

Duration of LRE program: About 4 years

Current program data:

- An LRE strand is written into the district curriculum guide at every grade.
- A seventh-grade course, The Law and You (currently one and a half semesters) is required.
- A twelfth-grade elective was under development at the time of the study.

Materials:

- Justice Education Teaching Strategies (JETS) developed by the state department of education are used for the elementary grades. *Law in the Classroom* and *The Methods Book: Strategies for Law-Focused Education* are used in secondary classrooms. Materials in the seventh-grade are locally developed.

Institutionalization indicators:

- LRE is written into all the district curriculum guides.
- Teachers have been hired specifically to teach LRE.
- The superintendent is supportive of the LRE program, as are the legal community and teachers. All three groups believe LRE fills a need to teach good values.
- There has been very little monitoring of the infused strand at the elementary level.
- Training has not been consistent.
- Especially at the elementary level, LRE varies in content and pedagogy from one classroom to the next.

Thumbnail Sketch:

The LRE program at Eastlake, the newest program studied, was introduced in a highly rational and organized fashion. Eastlake demonstrates what implementation from the top down looks like in a small district when a well-liked and respected superintendent becomes committed to LRE as the solution to a district problem – in this case, lower than expected scores on a citizenship evaluation. After informing himself through the state LRE project, the superintendent involved the social studies chairpersons. The superintendent, who was a lifelong resident of the community and longtime employee of the district, used his influence with the board to gain their support, get LRE adopted into the curriculum, and obtain funds for materials and training. Similarly, he used his informal connections in the community to gain the support of the legal community.

Once board approval was obtained, the elementary social studies chair organized a volunteer group of teachers to undertake the curriculum development. At the secondary level, two new teachers hired to replace two retirees developed the seventh-grade course.

Teachers felt no oppression from the top-down implementation and continued to express goodwill and trust in the administration and their colleagues. The teachers also expressed a considerable sense of autonomy, which resulted in both high morale and a relatively low level of consistency in the LRE program across the district.

Program Characteristics

LRE in Eastlake consists of several components. An LRE strand is written into the curriculum, K-12. In the elementary grades, LRE appears in every grade as units of varying length. The JETS materials are used at this level. In the "Law and Government Strand" at the secondary level, *Law in the Classroom* and *The Methods Book: Strategies for Law-Focused Education* are used. In addition, a one and one-half semester Law and You course is offered in grade 7. A twelfth-grade elective was being written at the time of the site visits.

Two characteristics of the program were significant in people's minds as explanations for why LRE was so readily adopted. The materials, in the words of several respondents, "work" – students are engaged in the material and are not creating behavior problems. The materials and the program are easy to use; teachers do not need to spend a lot of time or energy getting ready to use the materials. They are not required to find extra materials in order to do a unit.

Community resource people have been used in the classroom, particularly in conjunction with the district's Citizenship Week; however, several teachers said that their own time constraints and concern that resource people would be too busy had prevented them from employing resource people as much as they would like.

At the elementary level, use of the LRE units is inconsistent. Some teachers do not use them because they think the curriculum is already too crowded. All the responding teachers observed that they had a great deal of autonomy about how they did LRE or how much LRE they use; this gave them a sense of program ownership. Administrators, on the other hand, viewed LRE as a requirement, but there has been little monitoring of implementation.

School District Characteristics

School district and community characteristics, combined with the personality of the the superintendent, were the most important factors influencing the speedy and relatively untroubled adoption and implementation of an LRE program in Eastlake.

The superintendent was ready to be interested in LRE because he was looking for a program that would address students' deficiencies in citizenship on a statewide assessment instrument. Teachers also seemed ready to accept LRE, primarily because they saw their community changing in a way to which LRE responded. They reported that an influx of people from urban areas and the fact that parents no longer provided children with good values created new roles for the schools. Their receptivity has been supported by experiences in which students participating in LRE have seemed to behave better.

LRE in Eastlake was introduced from the top down; that is, the superintendent was identified by all the respondents as the person who discovered LRE, brought it to the district, introduced the idea to the local law community and the teachers, had it incorporated in the school district course of study, provided money and release time for a teacher writing team and teacher training, and obtained school board support for the program.

No one saw the top-down origination of the program as negative or dictatorial. A sense of trust and goodwill seemed to characterize the remarks of all the respondents.

There was also a perception that teachers and department chairs had been heavily involved in the specific design of the program. After the superintendent decided that the LRE program was needed, he quickly involved other administrators, teachers, the school board, and some members of the law community.

Being a small district, many of the interactions in Eastlake are personal and informal. Because the superintendent was a native of the community, he was able to mesh informal networks (his personal contacts) with more bureaucratic requirements (such as including LRE in the district curriculum guides). The district's well-established procedure for making curricular changes also facilitated the process.

One problem has been the lack of a monitoring or control structure, which has permitted inconsistent implementation, particularly at the elementary level. While principals are supposed to be responsible for ensuring that teachers are teaching the planned course of study, they have not actively done so in the case of LRE.

Individual Characteristics

The unique characteristics of the superintendent were absolutely critical to LRE in Eastlake. Were it not for his interest and his skill and abilities as an administrator, LRE would not likely have come to Eastlake. It is unusual to have a superintendent with the long-term community and school connections and the statewide reputation that allowed the necessary transitions to be executed on a personal, face-to-face basis.

All of the teachers interviewed were using LRE to some extent; none of the interviewees had been introduced to LRE and rejected it. Thus, in examining teacher characteristics, we are looking at degrees of enthusiasm and involvement.

Teachers who liked the program had a variety of motives:

1. Believing the materials helped solve or address behavior problems.

2. Liking LRE because it engages students and captures their attention. It solves the basic dilemma of getting and keeping children's attention.

3. Perceiving that they had the freedom to do LRE as they pleased.

Manner of Implementation

Eastlake adopted and implemented its LRE program via a highly rational sequence of planned events. The program was introduced by the superintendent in response to a felt need for citizenship education. He involved the legal community, the school board, and other administrators in the decision. He invited key people to participate in workshops conducted by the state project. The elementary social studies chair was given responsibility for organizing a writing committee to design the elementary curriculum. At the junior high level, where a course was to be developed for the seventh grade, the administration waited for two teachers with strong personal commitments to the existing geography course to retire; two new teachers were then hired to write and teach the LRE course. The new course offerings, including a grade 12 elective being written during the study, were then included in the school district syllabus.

Although many of the teachers involved in the curriculum writing work attended some training outside the district, the remaining teachers had received little in the way of formal training.

IV. CASE STUDY NARRATIVES

The eight case study narratives that follow are based upon information collected from school district documents and face-to-face interviews with teachers, administrators, coordinators, and resource people.

Each of the narratives presents a portrait of a law-related education program as it has developed and as it continues in a unique context of people, events, institutions, materials, and programs. Each site has its own story to tell and its own lessons to teach. Taken individually, the cases demonstrate how various elements in a particular setting have interacted to create the unique circumstances that prevail there.

Despite the uniqueness of each case, one can compare the conditions and programs in a particular case with the conditions and programs that prevail in one's own district. Readers will likely find that some descriptions seem very familiar and consistent with their own experiences. Readers are also likely to find some puzzling conditions will be explained by seeing the broader context often denied in viewing their own situations. Many intuitive insights about institutionalization, infusion, or implementation will probably be confirmed by some of the case studies.

Other notions may be challenged by these case studies. The information in the cases that contradicts readers' experiences can also be useful and instructive. The cases contain the kind of detail that will allow readers to explore the conditions that have made someone else's experience different from their own. Discrepant information can also be helpful if it results in a more ecumenical view of how programs can be executed, maintained, and institutionalized.

Although each case is unique, we have imposed some organizers on the presentation of the cases in order to facilitate comparisons. Each case begins with descriptive information about the size, location, and socioeconomic characteristics of the community and school district. A description of the existing LRE program includes information about the kinds of programs that exist and the extent of their dissemination in the district. The bulk of the narrative is devoted to describing the conditions and processes involved in (1) how the district became aware of and ultimately adopted LRE and (2) how the LRE program was implemented and how it evolved over time. Within these broad temporal organizers, the narratives touch upon a variety of topics, including leadership, support, school district characteristics, training, perception of need, quality of materials, use of community resources, and high visibility events. At the conclusion of each case is a "Discussion" section in which the case author points out some of the patterns, hypotheses, incongruities, and insights that emerged from analysis of the case.

CASE STUDY: BAY CITY

Demographics

Bay City School District is one of the largest school districts in the country. It is located in a sprawling west coast port city. The city's more than 400,000 people are of varied ethnic and cultural groups. Traveling from school to school in the district one passes carefully manicured lawns, spacious and luxurious homes, graffiti-covered walls, abandoned autos, modest adobe bungalows, crowded freeways, black-stained oil fields, brightly colored marinas, neon-studded commercial strips, and palm-lined residential areas.

The school district extends over 128.6 square miles, has 82 schools, employs more than 6,000 certified and classified persons, and enrolls more than 67,000 students. Per pupil expenditures are over $3,300. Certified employees tend to have had a long tenure with the district; over 44 percent have reached the highest step on the salary schedule. In addition, the staff tends to be well educated, with 61 percent of the certified staff having a BA plus at least two more years of higher education credits.

The ethnic diversity of the community is reflected in the schools. Whites account for 37 percent of the school population, Hispanics about 25 percent, blacks about 19 percent, and others (American Indians, Asians or Pacific Islanders, and Filipinos) about 19 percent. Almost 60 languages may be encountered in the schools. During the past 20 years, the district has experienced tremendous growth and an influx of diverse minorities.

Although Bay City is regarded as a conservative community, it has long been recognized as having strong educational programs. Recent surveys indicated that nine out of ten teachers felt the district was a good place to work, and more than 85 percent of the parents gave high ratings to their local schools' instruction in reading, math, and language. Approximately three-quarters of the district's high school graduates attend college, winning more than $21,000,000 in scholarships for higher education each year. In addition, high school students in the district have consistently scored above national norms on standardized tests. Finally, the district is recognized as a national leader in the development of school/business community liaisons. Approximately 70 businesses and corporations have formed educational partnerships with local schools. Bay City is a large system that appears to provide quality opportunities for its students.

Current LRE Program

Like most LRE programs of long duration, the Bay City program is multifaceted, with various components having been added over time. While LRE is not required at any level, semester elective courses in LRE are offered at the junior and senior high levels, with recommended LRE infusions at the elementary level, especially grades 3 and 5, and in U.S. history and U.S. government at the secondary level.

The junior high elective, most commonly offered at the eighth grade, is titled *Youth and the Law*; the senior high course is *Criminal and Civil Law*. Teacher's guides have been developed and disseminated for both courses. Although a variety of materials are listed as resources in the guides, the *Youth and the Law* course relies primarily upon *Authority* (Level V) and *Responsibility* (Level V) developed by Law in a Free Society and *Civil Justice* and *Criminal Justice* developed by the Constitutional Rights Foundation. In addition, a court house field experience is an integral component of this course. *Criminal and Civil Law* uses *Justice* (Level VI), *Privacy* (Level VI), and *Street Law* as its basal materials, with a variety of other resources listed as supplements. Despite the elective nature of the courses, both are offered in most buildings where they are appropriate.

In addition to the elective LRE courses, an effort has been made at the secondary level to infuse LRE into the U.S. history and government courses. A review of the guides developed by the district for these courses reflects this effort in several ways. First, one section of the guide is titled "Course Content/Time Allotment, Enduring Constitutional Issues, Model Curriculum Standards." A substantial number of items in this category deal with principles that support the American legal system, significant steps in its evolution, and salient Supreme Court cases. Another indicator of the effort to infuse LRE is found in the "Supplemental and Special Instructional Materials" section. Items listed in this section often were derived from LRE resources and addressed LRE issues. Finally, each guide contains supplemental activities with complete worksheets and lesson plans. Many of these were readily identifiable as fitting with LRE. However, these were only suggested optional materials, and teachers were under no constraints to use them.

The elementary program, which depends primarily upon the LFS *Authority* kit, is not implemented as systematically. For the most part, formal use depends upon teacher interest; increasing pressure to include such other topics as drug and gang prevention in the curriculum has negatively affected use of the LRE materials. Although many teachers feel they do not have time to use the materials systematically, they do apply the concepts and strategies incidentally in response to classroom, playground, and general school situations. The history-social science consultant and most of the teachers interviewed support the use of interactive instructional strategies and methods found to have optimal impact in reducing delinquency. There is evidence, however, that some teachers continue to favor traditional "read-and-recite" approaches.

In addition to the formal academic program, the Bay City LRE program has grown over the years to include a number of extra-curricular activities, most of which are directly linked to the classroom. For many years, the school system has conducted a court tour program in cooperation with the Bay City Lawyer's Wives, now called the law auxiliary. The law auxiliary, with the support of the history-social science consultant, was the initial driving force behind this activity. Funding to cover the costs of transportation were originally paid by the bar auxiliary, although as these costs rose dramatically, the school district decided to defray expenses beyond the $3,000 paid by the bar auxiliary. Initially, this program was primarily for senior high school students enrolled in U.S. government classes, but it has since expanded to include both junior and senior high school law classes. A court tour teacher's guide has been developed by teachers, lawyers, and law auxiliary members with financial support from the law auxiliary.

Bay City also participates very successfully in the statewide mock trial contest organized by the Constitutional Rights Foundation. Last year, five of the eight teams in the county quarterfinals were from Bay City. The high quality of performance by Bay City students reflects in part the intensive coaching they receive. Participating teachers compared it to coaching a sport; one teacher felt strongly that she would not expand the number of LRE classes she taught if it meant coaching a mock trial team from each class.

Law Day offers yet another opportunity for Bay City students to encounter LRE. The local bar association has a Law Day committee, which works closely with the history-social science consultant to conduct programs. A yearly grant to the bar association by the widow of a former bar member is used specifically for Law Day programs. This effort provides a prime example of the close coordination between the Bay City School District and the law community. Although the local bar association and law auxiliary are involved in organizing and presenting the program, that program has been carefully designed to address needs identified by the school district through its history-social science consultant.

A fifth-grade poster contest sponsored by the law auxiliary represents another component of the Bay City LRE effort. For the most part, these additional components are a logical outgrowth of the

LRE program in Bay City. They exemplify the close school district/law community cooperation that characterizes LRE there.

Program Development: Awareness and Adoption

The evolution of the LRE program in Bay City has followed a complex route, involved a wide range of individuals both within and outside of the district, and reflected a needs-based, logically consistent, and opportunistic effort. It has responded as opportunities for expansion and improvement of LRE appeared. The history-social science consultant has led the effort to make LRE an integral component of the instructional program. Relying on a clear grasp of the culture of the district, the history-social science consultant has skillfully managed to maintain and advance the LRE program as opportunities arose. Despite the absence initially of a clear vision of the final LRE project, the district has blended activities in a logical and systematic manner.

District Leadership. Throughout the program's development, unity has been provided by a coherent educational philosophy and stable leadership from the history-social science consultant. The consultant has consistently contended that, "We don't have LRE in Bay City. We have citizenship/law-related education." Clearly, he perceived LRE as a component of the district's effort to develop informed, participating citizens. As such, he has stressed the problem-solving, critical thinking, participatory, and affective dimensions of LRE and opposes LRE limited to "law career education" or "black-letter law."

While an examination of the status of LRE in Bay City reveals opportunities for improvement, it has achieved noteworthy successes. It has weathered an array of changes that might have destroyed less thoughtfully supported programs. Superintendents have come and gone. LRE teachers have moved or been promoted, and the program has died in their school only to reemerge a year or two later under the direction of another teacher. State curriculum frameworks have changed, but LRE has survived. Contracting resources have severely hampered district activities and have exerted and continue to exert a negative impact on LRE, but limited resources have not spelled the demise of the program.

Social and Educational Climate. Before examining the early stages of LRE in Bay City, it is important to place its emergence within a social-educational context. The Bay City LRE program began to coalesce during the early 1970s, a time of great social divisiveness, conflict, and mass demonstrations. This social upheaval reached into many schools in the form of walkouts, demonstrations, and calls for curricular reform. While extreme turmoil was limited in Bay City, its administrators, teachers, and school board members were well aware of the disturbing social events transpiring around them.

Education was also in a state of flux. The youth rebellion generated interest in teaching citizenship. Calls for relevance prompted the development of an array of mini-courses and other efforts designed to appeal to student interests. In addition, the federally funded "new social studies" projects emphasized a different style of teaching, which sought to instill in students the skills and analytical framework of social scientists and historians. Many districts launched massive inservice programs designed to assist teachers in making the transition from classes oriented around lectures, worksheets, and rote memorization to classes in which students were engaged in analytical research, hypothesizing, and sophisticated discussion of complex topics. Many of these training programs, as well as the materials they demonstrated, were the product of a sizable infusion of federal funds into the educational arena.

Thus, both internal and external pressures were propelling schools into a time of change, instability, and—in some instances—renewal. In Bay City these pressures created several conditions that had a direct bearing upon the future of LRE in the district. First, there was increased receptivity

for curriculum reform. This provided an opportunity for new programs, including LRE, to enter the school more quickly than they might have done in a time of social tranquillity and educational rigidity.

Second, Bay City was heavily involved in a staff development effort designed to enhance teachers' classroom questioning skills, especially those related to promoting higher cognitive processes. Because the characteristics of a good LRE teacher were similar to those sought by other staff development efforts, this natural congruence encouraged the new director of staff development to see LRE as an ally rather than a competitor. Securing the support of staff development personnel was helpful in promoting LRE. The current history-social science consultant observed:

> As LFS (Law in a Free Society) came down, staff development was getting a new push. The former staff development person was a principal who had no power or interest. His successor had a lot of influence, had the ear of the superintendent, and LFS fit into her objectives and we got along well. She pursued resources, but you had to justify your ideas.

In an era when significant federal funding was available to support innovative programs, including staff development components, LRE was an attractive program because of its fit with existing staff development efforts and the funding base it provided. LRE was seen by the history-social science consultant, the person who was assigned primary responsibility for the LRE program, and the district staff development specialist as a program that addressed their needs and interests.

Finally, LRE was seen by several proponents, especially the president of the PTA, as a vehicle for addressing citizenship issues. The PTA president referred to the early seventies as "a time of chaos" and stressed the need to "convey a core of civic values." Clearly, to the people of Bay City, LRE was the right program in the right place at the right time.

Broad-Based Support. A striking factor about the initiation of LRE in Bay City is that the program's impetus did not derive from a single source. Instead, forces emanating from the community, central office, and classroom combined to provide a multifaceted foundation for developing LRE. From the very beginning, the tripartite support base that has characterized LRE in Bay City worked together to promote the adoption and implementation of LRE in the district.

The community, represented by the PTA president, who later became a school board member and is currently president of the board, offered an impetus for LRE in Bay City. As an attorney's wife in the early 1970s the PTA president was concerned about "what could we do for Law Day that would help kids grow up with some kind of education as far as the law was concerned." As PTA president, she went to a convention in Texas and attended a session that introduced her to some LRE activities. "Whistles blew and lights went off. Here was something at a level that youngsters can absorb it and it's still a profound kind of learning." She went to the assistant superintendent for curriculum and began to sell the program as something that teachers could "do whenever they had a spare half hour."

The next year at a conference, she attended every LRE session she could find and continued to advocate LRE to central office leaders. The PTA president played a critical role. The history-social science consultant reported that "a very influential person [the PTA president] made a case for it [LRE] and we tend to listen to people from the community and a PTA president would be one."

Meanwhile, the district began to respond. Although the assistant superintendent is deceased, other informants indicated that his support was crucial. Essentially, he was the initial high-level driving force behind LRE. His endorsement derived from several sources. First, he was persuaded by a trusted community member, the PTA president. Second, he became acquainted with the leaders of national LRE projects based nearby, "and there was just a good working relationship—there was a

trust level." He agreed to serve on the board of a national LRE project even before it started in Bay City. The personalities and educational beliefs of the assistant superintendent and LRE leaders meshed well; these personal and professional bonds laid a foundation for advancing LRE at the highest levels within the Bay City administration.

The availability of high-quality instructional materials provided through a grant from the national LRE projects (and later available at a reduced cost) was another positive consideration. There was a belief that the good price for materials given to Bay City was a direct result of the assistant superintendent's personal relationship with the leader of one national LRE project.

In addition, "LRE has a record of good inservice," which attracted the assistant superintendent. His receptivity was further enhanced by finding teachers who were receptive to LRE and who were interested in teaching it. Both the teachers and the assistant superintendent were attracted by the opportunity to obtain UCLA credits for participation in the inservice training. The assistant superintendent also began to hear about LRE programs in other outstanding districts and questioned why Bay City didn't have LRE. In any event, the assistant superintendent encouraged the history-social science consultant who in turn encouraged her teacher on special assignment (who later succeeded her as consultant), to become involved.

Although the history-social science consultant at the time was supportive, her successor is perhaps the most critical individual in the successful development of LRE in Bay City. Virtually everyone queried about the origins of the program or asked to account for its achievements responded like one teacher, who said, "The real beginning of the program in the district, I have to give credit to ___ (the history-social science consultant) and LFS."

The consultant has given untiringly of his time and energy to promote LRE and is recognized as a national leader in the field, having received the American Bar Association's award for outstanding achievement in LRE. While he was perhaps not the most influential voice initially, he quickly emerged as the key to survival of the program in Bay City; his support from the beginning contributed significantly to the district's willingness to pilot LRE, as well as its later successes. He is widely respected in the district and understands how the district operates. He is able to recast suggestions from outside the district and make them palatable to district decision-makers. His early advocacy with teachers, principals, and central office personnel was essential in building a cadre of proponents throughout the district. When LRE was beginning in Bay City, the current history-social science consultant was a teacher on special assignment. In this capacity, he had little opportunity to interact with principals; with his promotion to consultant, however, his contact with building-level administrators increased dramatically. In addition, his influence within the district expanded as a result of his new position. Wider contacts and increased power enhanced his ability to promote LRE.

The current history-social science consultant, while a teacher on assignment, was primarily concerned with social studies staff development. Because the history-social science consultant at the time was overburdened, when she was asked to become involved in LRE, she asked the future coordinator to add it to his tasks. With encouragement from the assistant superintendent, the history-social science consultant and a group of teachers developed a course guide for a youth and the law course; after pilot testing and evaluation, the course was approved by the district curriculum committee as an integral part of the district curriculum. Initially, the program was primarily black-letter law, but as increasing resources became available for training, curriculum development, and purchasing materials, Law in a Free Society materials and instructional models achieved higher visibility and became a major part of the LRE program.

LRE also had a staunch early proponent at the classroom level. One teacher expressed an abiding interest in the law:

> I'm sort of one of those frustrated lawyers who in the 1960s was not brave enough or financially able to go to law school. I was politically involved in Chicago – civil rights, community worker – and became a social worker. I was active in the McCarthy campaign, and my ex-husband was an aid to a congressman. I've always been personally interested in the law. When I was in college, I was real involved with the law school. I frequently was with the moot courts/mock trials. As a teacher, I did LRE right from the beginning – international law, civil rights. A lot of my stuff had to do with constitutional law because of the climate of civil rights at the time, the 1960s.

Although this teacher had infused law into her existing social studies courses, she still wanted to have a law class. She contends that she "convinced" her principal to let her pilot a law class at the junior high level. She recalls that it was "absolutely a building-level decision to do LRE." Later she observed that in the experimental climate of the times, it was easier to begin new courses than it would be today. It is perhaps noteworthy that the principal who encouraged her to develop a law program later became an assistant superintendent in Bay City.

District-Level Characteristics. District characteristics also played a key part in the decision to adopt LRE. First, the district, like many districts at that time, offered a wide array of courses. The current history-social science consultant described it as follows:

> We're a large district and are noted for a smorgasbord approach. We offer a lot of programs. Unless something is ridiculous, you can always get an audience. There was a climate of innovation. For example, we had a salary unit plan that granted salary increases for Bay City staff development credits. The LRE training gave Bay City or UCLA credits. It's a conservative district, but we're open if you can convince them.

One teacher described the district as "innovative, not bandwagonish. They've bent overboard to meet students' needs and thoughtfully incorporate new ideas." A principal described the district as "very conservative in adopting new programs." Although it approached course adoption cautiously, Bay City was receptive to programs that could prove their worth.

The second factor, closely related to the first, was the ability of classroom teachers to initiate programs. While many decisions were made on a "top down" basis, it appears that during the period in question, teachers had moderate flexibility in curricular areas. If a teacher wanted to initiate a course and could convince leaders at the building and central office levels that there were strong reasons for proceeding with the proposal, the course was likely to win pilot approval. If the pilot program at the first building showed promise and teachers in other buildings were interested, a multi-building trial of the proposed course would be conducted. If this trial phase also demonstrated positive results, the course would be recommended to the board for approval as part of the regular curriculum.

The third closely related factor was that the district developed guidelines for approving and integrating new courses. Proposals with a solid rationale would be entertained and piloted. If initial pilot evaluations were positive, the course would probably be approved on a trial basis by the curriculum committee. After additional evaluation and review by the committee, they would become part of the "regular" Bay City curriculum. The director of curriculum and instruction described the process as follows:

> We have provisions for teachers to create courses – a three-year trial and if it's solid and there's student interest, we offer it in other schools. The process is not persuading the board and superintendent. We pride ourselves on having a very thorough C and I process. The pilot trial can establish integrity and a review of student interest.

> By the time it is established, the superintendent and board have to agree. No persuasion is needed. If there are teachers to teach it and students who are interested and it has been tested by the process, it will be approved.

Another structural aspect of the district also enhanced the continuation of LRE. Once a course becomes part of the "regular" curriculum, the district textbook adoption committee regularly reviews and adopts texts for these approved courses. Books on the district list can be purchased by any appropriate school in the district. Simply by having approval, texts increased visibility of LRE and made expansion and continuation easier.

Clearly, Bay City had established procedures that, if met, could provide an institutional stamp of approval and generate both the tangible and intangible institutional support that such approval carries in its wake.

Perceptions of Need. An essential ingredient in both the decision to adopt LRE and its longevity has been need. Virtually all of the interviewees involved in the initial phases of the program indicated that LRE addressed perceived needs. While the perceived needs varied somewhat from individual to individual, all saw the program as responding to important personal or organizational issues. The PTA president saw a society being torn asunder by factional disputes, the disappearance of core civic values, and rampant disrespect for the law. The assistant superintendent saw LRE as responding to students' needs to become law-abiding citizens and as a vehicle for improving classroom instruction by enhancing teachers' ability to develop students' problem-solving and critical thinking skills.

Supportive teachers saw LRE as responding to students' need to know about the judicial system. One teacher, who later became an elementary consultant, observed, "I was working in an inner-city school and felt that the kids needed a touch of LRE, and I found that it carried over onto the playground quite a bit. That kind of idea was really needed in inner-city schools." Another teacher expressed her perception of students' needs as follows: "Basically, I feel that it [the law] is such an institution in our country that I think it's something students need to understand from a very early age, and it's an area that most young people were never exposed to before."

LRE also struck a responsive cord with the soon-to-be history-social science consultant, who recalled:

> I did have a court tour in honors government. There was an interest there. I'm curious about anything. New content was interesting because my primary assignment was the Hilda Taba teaching strategies program, and her main thrust was concept development. If you look at LFS authority materials, the concept development pattern is there. I was being trained to develop concepts. So it became a challenge to take these concepts and try to do something.

In addition, the consultant saw LRE as meeting personal needs: "LRE was a vehicle for me to learn more about social studies.... LRE was a developing movement and I could be part of it."

The initial appeal of LRE to the interests and needs of the current history-social science consultant and others has been a continuous feature of the program. Several respondents indicated the rapid demographic changes that brought many minorities into areas served by the Bay City schools enhanced the perceived need for LRE. The PTA president observed:

> That was the mid-70s and that was a time of chaos, and some of our racial problems in some of our schools and all of a sudden we turned from a very white, very middle class, very homogeneous community almost over night into this heterogeneous community with a lot of different values, a lot of different back-

> grounds, a lot of levels of education, and maybe it looked like all of a sudden in Bay City things weren't the way that they used to be and we sure had a need to do something different. LRE conveys core civic values. LRE answered a need.

The history-social science consultant also observed that the demographic changes in the district have helped sustain support for LRE "during budget crunches or back to basics – it's seen as responding to a district need." The appearance of juvenile gangs in the Bay City area and increased dropout rates are cited as other evidence of the need for LRE.

Members of the local justice and law enforcement communities also recognized a need for LRE. Both the bar auxiliary and bar itself have supported the program and worked closely with the social studies coordinator. Law enforcement support has been more varied, often depending upon the resources and priorities of the department and personnel changes. The support from these organizations has been critical. District personnel knew that large-scale development of an LRE program would require access to courts, lawyers, and other community resources. Assurances that this support would indeed be forthcoming removed a major hurdle to program development.

Other Factors. While the adoption process seems to support previous research suggesting that needs, adequate resources, strong community and district support, a thoughtful innovative tradition, and support from outside experts and internal advocates are ingredients for eventual institutionalization, the process did contradict at least one previous finding. Although the Bay City staff had a clear philosophy that would guide the evolution of LRE, they did not have a clear vision of the final product. While much energy devoted to exploring what LRE should be, no consensus was reached. No one in Bay City at that time would have described the current LRE program as their objective. However, there was general consensus that LRE should be interactive, involve the community as a learning environment and a resource to bring into the classroom, promote the development of thoughtful, participating citizens, and cover content derived from the legal/judicial dimension of political science.

In closing this discussion, it should be noted that most key decisions were made by top leadership, which was enthusiastically supported by some middle-level administrators, community members, and selected teachers. The assistant superintendent, seeing LRE as a response to district needs and convinced of its utility by the president of the PTA, lent his support. His history-social science consultant, already overburdened, supported the program but passed much of the responsibility for it to a teacher on special assignment. This dynamic individual, who was intimately associated with one of the national projects, quickly became a strong LRE advocate. Later, as a history-social science consultant for Bay City, he became the linchpin for LRE implementation in the district. While LRE was spreading from the top down, an enthusiastic and capable teacher with strong interest in the law was able to convince her principal that law should become part of the program in their building. Support and assistance from the legal community were readily available, and there was virtually universal agreement among interested parties that LRE was responding to needs.

Program Development: Implementation and Evolution

Although the decision to pilot LRE was based upon thoughtful analysis and preparation and contained many of the elements necessary to develop a successful program, adoption does not guarantee success nor longevity. Implementing a quality program and maintaining it depend upon a wide variety of factors that interact in complex and holistic ways. Careful analysis of the evolution of LRE in Bay City suggests that some of these factors may be more important than others, but that all exert an influence.

It is important to recognize that Bay City's LRE leaders were working without benefit of the rich research in organizational change and institutionalization that has been conducted during the past 20 years. Their steps toward institutionalization have thus been formed primarily by experience, common sense, and knowledge of the district. It is also important to recognize that their efforts have been conducted in a climate of shifting educational trends, declining resources, and organizational changes.

Finally, one must remember that the history-social science consultant, the primary driving force behind LRE, is not an LRE coordinator. His responsibilities embrace the entire secondary social studies program. He has never had the time or resources to focus only on LRE. During interviews he made the point several times that he was the "history-social science consultant, not the LRE coordinator" and that his organizational role, while providing some opportunities for promoting LRE, also imposed limitations.

Respected Leadership. Throughout the evolution of the LRE program, the history-social science consultant has performed a variety of essential roles. He has been an advocate who promoted the program within the central office. He has worked with others, such as the director of curriculum and instruction, individuals in the staff development office, and elementary specialists, to garner resources and support for LRE. Not only has the history-social science consultant actively sought the support of other central office personnel, he has gained their support through more subtle means. For example, he described one of his functions as follows:

> I'd filter outside ideas through what I knew would be an acceptable Bay City pattern. To outsiders who came in and said you should do this or you should do that or we want you to do that, I would always say, "this is how we do it." As long as we did that, I thought that we could keep the program. But when other administrators took outside consultants at their word literally and imposed certain things, the opposition was horrendous. I've had to maintain flexibility. I know what the traffic will bear administratively, staff wise and budget. That's what I'm supposed to know, and so some things had to be massaged in order to be acceptable.

This subtle application of knowledge of the culture of the district extended to interaction with other discipline specialists. The history-social science consultant knew that blind advocacy for social studies in general and LRE in particular might in the long term cause more damage than good. For example, if he strongly advocated increased social studies graduation requirements, he was certain to engender opposition from discipline coordinators of such elective courses as industrial arts, music, and art.

The consultant has employed the power and resources of his office to secure funding for training, in-house curriculum development, and acquisition of materials. He helped teachers secure release time to attend conferences and other professional development activities. He has promoted the program at the building level by making presentations to principals and by sharing information about the program with teachers. One principal described the history-social science consultant as:

> ...an advocate. He has a lot of credibility in the district and statewide. He goes to his boss, the director of curriculum and instruction, and then the secondary office and back to the grass roots level at the local schools. Some steps are formal, such as course approval. He'd work one-on-one on the principals to get things started. He has exerted a significant influence in shaping the program, determining its direction, and ensuring its survival.

Together with the current elementary history-social science consultant, the secondary history-social science consultant has been instrumental in helping develop a new generation of central office

LRE leadership. As another generation of elementary supervisors has begun to emerge, he has enhanced their receptivity to LRE and helped provide them with the skills and knowledge necessary to support the elementary LRE program.

Interviews with teachers, principals, and administrators throughout the district inevitably led back to the history-social science consultant. When asked how they became involved, the response was, "_____ told me about it." When queried about how they learned about materials, conferences, or workshops, the answers again pointed to the history-social science consultant. He has disseminated information, identified or created opportunities for professional growth, generated enthusiasm, and provided a "shot in the arm" when needed. He has spearheaded LRE curriculum teams and parlayed his national contacts into outside funding for district LRE projects. He has promoted LRE infusion into appropriate points in the secondary curriculum.

Not only has he provided invaluable support to district staff, he has also served as the liaison with the legal community. His relationship with the bar association, bar auxiliary, police department, and judges has contributed significantly to motivating these groups to make invaluable contributions to the LRE effort.

The importance of the history-social science consultant to the success and longevity of the LRE program cannot be overestimated. The program simply would not have evolved as it has without his leadership. One teacher aptly summed up the general consensus about the history-social science consultant's role in LRE by saying, "_____ was the reason the district bought into LRE. He pushed for it and is still pushing for it. Without _____ I don't think that we'd have done anything."

One should note that the history-social science consultant has seen a fit between LRE and his overall objectives. LRE was a vehicle for improving the quality of social studies instruction in the district; the high-quality individuals, materials, and training associated with LRE were strong inducements to emphasize it within the context of the Bay City citizenship program.

Training and Follow-up. One of the initial and most decisive steps in the development of LRE in Bay City was the development of inservice programs. Many of these programs were designed to provide a comprehensive overview of the legal system while modeling use of the LFS approach and materials. Inservice programs conducted by the history-social science consultant during the summer and school year gradually began to build a cadre of knowledgeable and enthusiastic LRE teachers in the district.

One teacher attributed her use of LRE to her workshop experience: "I got involved because I went to a social studies inservice and they asked who wanted kits. I bought in." Another teacher observed, "I doubt very seriously that I would have used the program without that training. It explained the reasoning behind it, it explained the materials; we had an opportunity for hands-on kinds of things, helpful hints on the program. It was very helpful."

Perhaps the best testimonial to the effectiveness of the LRE staff development effort was its ability to attract participants. One teacher described this process as follows:

> It kind of spread by word of mouth. The teachers who had been there would tell someone, "oh, this is the greatest thing," and they'd tell somebody else, and the next time it was offered, their friends would go and sign up. It was recommended – "this is really fantastic; you ought to go" – and so I went.

There is some evidence, however, that word-of-mouth recruitment eventually reached a saturation point. One teacher remarked that she "saw the same people at inservice." It was the same people seeking growth, maybe 20 percent of the staff; there were many more elementary than secondary faculty.

Not only did high-quality training attract recruits for future sessions, it also produced a diffusion or multiplier effect. One teacher observed about her school:

> Eighty percent here find out from those who did [attend workshops] and they try to incorporate it as best they can in their classrooms. I expressed enthusiasm to another third-grade teacher, and when I had finished with it [LFS Kit], she used it and enjoyed it. I believe that she's used it ever since. I've spread the word to many, and many have tried it and are still using it.

While this is certainly not systematic and perhaps not typical of the district as a whole, it does suggest that the training program had an impact beyond those who attended.

The success of the LRE training derived from several sources. First, the history-social science consultant and those who assisted him were highly enthusiastic, and their enthusiasm for the program was contagious: "Training motivated you. It was good because it got you enthusiastic; it motivates you just like we do with the kids." Second, the sessions were delivered at least in part by teachers who had credibility with other teachers. Third, the sessions combined theory and practice. One teacher remarked, "Training was very helpful because I knew exactly where the program was leading. You went through all of the tapes; you went through the discussions. You had people role play and model for you what your teaching strategies were supposed to be."

Participation by outside resource experts in training also had a salutary influence. Their reputations added an element of credibility and enthusiasm to the local program. One participant described the importance of outside consulting as follows:

> If you're going to have start-up in a district, I think that it is important for anyone doing leadership roles to talk to leaders from other areas, get input from nationally known people, and hear results when they've done research. What's happened? That was really important for me and I feel it would be important to any new person coming on the job.

Lawyers, police officers, judges, and other community resource persons were also presenters who shared their expertise and conveyed a sense that this was an important endeavor and that they were available to assist teachers in their classrooms. Field experiences such as ride-alongs generated enthusiasm and impressed upon participants the benefits of experiential educational methods.

Incidental aspects of training also conveyed the message that this was an important endeavor. One teacher observed, "They provided lunch and in this district that's unusual." Often these little extras came from non-district funding sources that the social studies coordinator sparingly employed in ways calculated to have maximum impact.

Although a variety of different time structures was used to deliver training, the most effective ones appeared to be of long duration with breaks between sessions. One supervisor who had an opportunity to assess the classroom impact of the various approaches remarked:

> I definitely feel that a program spread over time, with time for teachers to actually practice and internalize it and come back and discuss it, is always the better program. And the reason for that was that I found that over and over and over again when teachers try to change their questioning techniques, at first you feel awkward and you have a tendency to be over-critical. If they're disappointed at all, chances are they'll leave it alone, but if they come back for a discussion and find out that everybody has discomfort trying to change something you've been doing one way, then there's an enthusiasm to try it more and more.

Another teacher remarked, "It's much easier to do one thing and get a good feeling with it than to take on another."

In addition to generating enthusiasm and developing skills among new LRE teachers, another consequence of the local training was that it served to maintain and strengthen the commitment of the local teachers who led it. Through continual involvement in planning and presenting sessions, they not only enhanced their knowledge of current LRE materials and strategies, but also acquired a sense of being personally identified with LRE and having a stake in its success. Doing workshops, attending conferences, being perceived as an LRE expert, receiving district recognition and financial rewards, and writing curriculum all served to strengthen a sense of commitment. This finding suggests that the more intensely involved local individuals are in an LRE project, the more likely they are to increase their commitment to its success.

Support from Teachers and Colleagues. While the quality of the staff development program was a major vehicle for recruiting and training new teachers, it was not the only approach. Several teachers stressed the role of the principal. One teacher ascribed the presence of the program in his school to an assertive and energetic principal:

> We had a principal that was committed to bringing in anything extra for the school. He brought in college people under a federal program to do training. He got a lawyer's wife involved and sent her to training and approached two grade levels, four and five, and asked if we wanted to be involved. When the opportunity came up to get LRE, he made a few contacts and got one of the lawyer's wives involved. It was strictly voluntary.

Another teacher observed that career and job preservation motivations were primary considerations when her principal took the lead in bringing the program into the school:

> The principal asked if I was interested in teaching this particular class. It was my first year, and of course anything the principal suggested was going to be just fine with me. I went to the inservice. I didn't have tenure and I'd go anywhere. I didn't even know what it was.

Mentoring provided another effective route for reaching new teachers. One junior high school teacher who has emerged as a strong LRE advocate in the district and an outstanding mock trial coach indicated that her introduction to LRE occurred as a student teacher in Bay City: "As a student teacher, I was asked to teach Youth and the Law at Washington Junior High. My master teacher was involved in getting the program started." This same master teacher was also instrumental in recruiting another young teacher, who was already an instructor in her building:

> My first opportunity came as a guidance teacher, my first assignment. Half of my kids had been in contact with the police department. Later, I moved to the high school and continued to use LRE—I knew colleagues who did. _____ was a pioneering LRE teacher and we developed a friendship. I learned a lot from her. I started teaching a class at Tillman High and got materials from her. Also, when I was teaching the guidance class, I got materials from her that I used with my guidance students, who were sort of hard core. I became involved. It was something that I was very interested in and sort of pursued it on my own.

This individual currently teaches the senior law course, infuses LRE concepts into his other classes, and is regarded in the district as an LRE convert.

Training through staff development sessions, principals' encouragement, and mentoring combined to create a cadre of enthusiastic, competent, and adventuresome LRE instructors. Ultimately,

this high quality of preparation returned dividends by helping guarantee that teachers would have success in their classrooms. While any new instructional program usually results in some decrease in teachers' comfort levels and the smoothness of their instruction, they have to encounter sufficient success to believe that they can master the new approach relatively quickly, or they soon abandon it in favor of tired and true practices. A principal substantiated the opinion that teachers need to meet with success relatively quickly in a new endeavor or they will abandon it. He observed:

> They [teachers] were suspicious. It made a little bit more work on the part of the individuals; doubts, questions, and that attitude kind of prevailed until they saw some results. Some people didn't see results fast enough. Those who did and stayed with it, it's like learning a new skill. That can be very frustrating. Some never got it. You have to see results—the reasons for change. Why is this particular strategy or technique needed and how is it helping and what is it doing for my kids? Once they see this background and see success, then they're ready to incorporate and go on.

Teachers consistently observed that their preparation allowed them to feel successful using LRE almost from the beginning.

It is important to note that teachers regard student interest and involvement as a major measure of "success." One teacher aptly summed up the response of others when she commented, "The reason I continued in it [LRE] was the kids really responded well to it." Another teacher, when describing her reasons for continuing to incorporate LRE, said, "It went over well with the children not just because they were learning, but they enjoyed doing it."

Support from Community Advocates. The development of an LRE advisory board also strengthened program implementation. As part of the agreement between Bay City and LFS, Bay City assumed responsibility for the formation of an LRE advisory board. As a formal structure, this board was never popular with the higher level administrators in the district. They were leery of another pressure group attempting to shape educational policy and programs. As the history-social science consultant phrased it, "We didn't want more people telling us what to do."

Recognizing the internal opposition to advisory bodies, the history-social science consultant decided that results were more important than form. He allowed the formal group to wither on the vine but used advisory board members as part of an informal group that functions effectively as a LRE support body and link between the school and legal community.

The history-social science consultant maintains close communications with this informal group with strong ties to such essential groups as the bar, law auxiliary, and police department. Whenever he has needed the assistance of those groups, this network has been able to provide it. For example, they have "written support letters for grants, gone on their own to funding agencies." The history-social science consultant's nurturing of this informal board has allowed the LRE program to reap the benefits of a formal board without any of the political damage that such a board might have created in Bay City.

Timing with Change Cycle. The timing of program initiatives was also important. Most school systems have a standard cycle for textbook adoption and curriculum review. Elementary teachers who were part of the curriculum review committee in Bay City commented that it was much easier to introduce LRE into the curriculum during the revision process than after the curriculum had been established. During the year of the revision cycle, new ideas can be added to the curriculum—or old ones deleted—more easily. After that year, it becomes more rigid and resistant to change until the process runs full cycle again. By carefully selecting teachers for the writing teams who supported his objectives, the history-social science consultant was able to inject LRE into selected areas of the elementary curriculum. This finding suggests that LRE advocates would be wise to cultivate a sup-

port base within a district prior to the curriculum review process and organize its efforts so that when the review year begins, the temporary flexibility of the curriculum can be used to best advantage.

High-Quality Curriculum Materials. The implementation phase was greatly strengthened by the availability of high-quality LRE materials. While some research suggests that teachers are more likely to use materials if they have a sense of ownership derived through development, teachers in Bay City suggested that other factors may be of equal or more importance.

Initially, few commercial materials were available, and the pioneer teachers in the area were forced to develop their own materials. They found this to be a time-consuming and, in some cases, frustrating task. While some continued to use materials they developed, they were grateful when quality commercial materials became available and readily incorporated these into their courses.

Comments by second-generation LRE teachers suggest that the LRE pioneers were atypical in their willingness to invest inordinate amounts of time in curriculum development. Teachers were delighted to have high-quality commercial materials readily available. Most instructors seemed to use one or more of the following criteria to assess the quality of materials: student interest, completeness and ease of use, flexibility, and congruence with teacher goals. Sample comments supporting these findings include:

> I found that [LRE] was a program that was easily carried on without a lot of extra preparation. In other words, I didn't have to go and make a lot of materials...it integrated well with other things. So it seemed to fit social studies nicely, but I could also work it into language arts for example. It was easy to have the kids after a discussion write about it.
>
> If it had taken a lot of prep time or time away from other subjects, it would get a lower score.
>
> You can take bits and pieces from anything and use them with a little creativity.
>
> It was clear and easy to use, not a lot of prep time, which most teachers like.
>
> It was geared to the kid's level and the filmstrips were cute. They got my kids to think about the concepts. I liked the content, the ideas.
>
> One is student response to the materials. They enjoyed the filmstrips – entertaining, but informative. It kept their interest. What made it easier for the instructor was that the teacher's guide was very, very explicit. Directions were given. You couldn't go wrong. The questioning techniques were absolutely outstanding – thought-provoking, open-ended questions. Every lesson was set and it followed through in a good sequential logical order.
>
> I heard it was effective and people liked it. It was good to develop good classroom discipline, class rules.
>
> Flexibility – that is one thing that I really appreciated about it.... If you didn't get to LFS for two or three days, it was all right. You could go from where you were to the next step. The children would remember where we were, what we had been doing.

While flexibility, student interest, and ease of use were critical, these characteristics only came into play after teachers had determined that the materials addressed what they felt to be worthy educational goals. Even if materials had all of the desirable traits, unless they pursued objectives

teachers felt were important or helped teachers more easily do something they were already doing, the materials would not be used.

Elementary teachers in particular were attracted to LRE materials because they helped address one of the major issues of education – student control. As one supervisor observed, "Teachers will do things they feel a need for, but they have to see a payoff." This suggests that materials and the training that supports them should clearly demonstrate fit between perceived teacher needs and objectives and the impact of the materials.

It is noteworthy, however, that even among those with a high level of commitment to LRE, a significant number no longer use the LRE materials in a formal, structured manner. For a wide variety of reasons, to be examined in detail in a later section, they have stopped using the materials, although they present the concepts informally whenever appropriate. This suggests that commitment and the availability of high-quality materials are not sufficient to maintain a program when it confronts inhibiting factors.

In large districts, it is unusual for more than a minority of teachers to work on a curriculum development project and those who were not part of the process have no more sense of ownership than for other materials. What is essential is that the teachers have an opportunity to be involved in the decisions influencing their classes, that they have high-quality materials that teach their objectives and that generate student interest, that those materials be easy to use and not require extensive background or preparation time, and that the materials be flexible enough to accommodate a range of students and time frames.

Individual Factors. An issue that brings training and materials together is the question of who should be trained. A careful analysis of the individuals involved in LRE in Bay City produced two patterns. The first and predominating pattern was that certain individuals were attracted to LRE because of the fit between LRE and their personal educational philosophies. Teachers who believed in interactive, experiential, practical education were naturally attracted to LRE.

When queried about how well LRE fit her former instructional practices, one teacher described it as "old hat, but I had experience [in leading discussions]. A less experienced teacher might have had problems with handling discussion. Someone who is not comfortable with give and take might have trouble." A supervisor observed that teachers who used cooperative learning strategies were often more receptive to LRE. She also noted:

> In this district, we have quite a few teachers who are training in Taba, and I think that this curriculum [LRE] is much easier for those teachers to start using. It's more their teaching style. Not all teachers are comfortable with these strategies. Teachers often teach in the style used to teach them and also teach in the style through which they learned. If I'm a teacher who doesn't like groups and I have an option to work with a poster or do it myself, I'm probably going to do it myself. How a teacher defines the purpose of education shapes their style – lectures for content versus activities for process.

One teacher described the match between her teaching style and LRE:

> It fit in fine. I'm a very hands-on kind of teacher. We do role playing, dramatic plays, and lots of speaking in my classroom, as well as cooperative learning. And maybe because when I came into teaching that was the style and that is how I was trained and my personality fit that style anyway. I really loved [LRE]. I felt very comfortable.

Educational philosophy in terms of what students need to learn in order to achieve the purpose of education also predisposed some teachers to be receptive to LRE. As previously mentioned,

some teachers felt that the content of LRE was essential if students were to learn what they felt were important areas of knowledge. These teachers, then, were attracted to LRE because of what their educational philosophy defined as essential content.

Finally, a third group of teachers was predisposed to use LRE because of their personal attraction for and interest in the content. Several teachers either were lawyers, had taken law classes, or had been involved in the law community in some capacity. These teachers wanted to teach LRE because of their personal interest in the subject, although some also indicated that they felt it was an important area of knowledge for students to master.

While educational philosophy and personal interests were key factors in determining receptivity to LRE, the related issue of what course an individual taught also exerted an influence. For the most part, U.S. and world history teachers exhibited little interest in incorporating LRE. Apparently they perceived their role as one of transmitting historical knowledge. They simply did not see a fit between their content and LRE, and they did not see LRE as addressing the same ultimate educational goals that history addressed. Neither were they attracted by the nontraditional LRE instructional methodologies.

An administrator in Bay City described the situation as follows:

> There are different types of teachers; to say that every teacher must be a process teacher might be ideal, but it isn't realistic to hope that that is ever going to happen. You know very well that there are teachers and there are professors who are very poor members of a group. They don't know how to function as group members. They're great as long as they are in a superordinate position with students, but they just have great difficulty participating as group members or even conducting a group discussion and drawing other people out without dominating it. I would hope that anyone with a process orientation or any hope of developing a process orientation would become an LRE teacher.

One of the district trainers observed: "Elementary teachers have always been far more open. The resistance just seems to grow as you move up. Many of the high school people, if you even suggested taking a course, it was like a personal affront—like you were being critical of the way they teach."

Interestingly, government teachers were also resistant to incorporating LRE into their courses. The basis of their rejection, however, appeared to be different than that of history teachers. Government teachers did not reject LRE because of a lack of curricular fit. Indeed, they recognized that the content of LRE did in fact fit most closely into government. However, because the government course in Bay City is only a semester, they felt that other content issues had a higher priority in the course, and there simply was not sufficient time to cover these priorities and LRE as well.

While these observations have significant implications for the field, caution must be exercised, as they are drawn from a very small sample of respondents, and additional information should be gathered from individuals who are not teaching LRE in order to test these findings. These findings appear to suggest that there is a group of teachers who by the nature of their pedagogic orientation or personal interests are predisposed to liking LRE. They believe in the methodological approach and/or are attracted by information that is meaningful, practical, and necessary for being an informed and involved citizen. Another group is drawn to LRE by the content itself.

These groups can provide a firm foundation for the development of LRE programs. Because of their natural affinity for LRE, they may be more receptive to training and more willing to invest the time and energy necessary to successfully launch any pilot program. They are more easily social-

ized into applying the instructional practices at the heart of LRE and delinquency prevention. The corollary is that individuals who are not attracted by the pedagogy or content, who are oriented towards the inculcation of other knowledge bases, and whose interests lie in other discipline areas will require substantially more training and resocialization in order for them to become effective LRE instructors.

This conclusion is substantiated by a supervisor who noted:

> Unless you're going to team with them and coach them right along, most teachers are going to use in their classroom materials in their style and in their "best way" that they see as right. I think that it takes a lot of coaching and strong support systems for it to become theirs if it's not their intuitive style. The teacher who likes a tip-toe quiet room is never – is going to be much slower to buy in and you're going to concentrate on people who do it a little bit. You still have some teachers who will take the book of which they have 30 to 35 copies and go cover to cover. Giving people complete packages of films, booklets, guides, etc. – use depends on staff development.

It is important to note that staff development was not simply a few hours of training, but perceived by this respondent as intensive and long-term, with follow-up and support. While this intensive approach is ideal, it is costly, and most school systems simply do not have or are unwilling to allocate the resources necessary to provide this degree of support.

An elementary school teacher described the phenomenon this way:

> They get a routine and don't want to change...I'm using a couple of teachers who are average teachers and I think that they would be a big problem. They wouldn't want to do something new. They've got enough to teach already; don't get me another thing. That's what I hear over and over when anything new like this comes out.

Clearly, many teachers, after they have been teaching for a few years, develop a course outline with which they are comfortable. The energy required to change their teaching is too much when compared to the perceived return.

Given the limited resources available to LRE change agents, it appears that the greatest return on those resources occurs when they are directed towards individuals receptive to LRE.

The above findings also have serious implications for how LRE is approached, especially if district or state mandates are sought or if broad and systematic infusion is adopted. Although there are many differences between mandates and infusion, they confront a common problem. Both require that large numbers of teachers adopt and implement LRE with fidelity. The finding that receptivity varies across teachers suggests that any effort that requires a sizable number of teachers who are not self-selected to use a program is going to include individuals who have little interest in the new program and negligible inclination to use it.

As long as LRE is an elective course taught by teachers who are advocates, the course can probably be delivered by one teacher in a building. If mandating increases enrollment beyond the capacity of one teacher or if infusion requires that all teachers at a grade level include certain content, teachers who do not want to teach LRE will likely be included in the group being asked to teach it. In this situation LRE advocates in Bay City predicted that program quality would decrease. A principal noted:

> If a staff member doesn't want to do something, it's not going to be successful. You could be God on the mountain, but if they don't want to do it, they're not going to give their all to it or see a need for it or reason or purpose. So, if you're going to mandate something, you have to start working from the grass roots level to involve everyone in why everyone is going to have to do it. That's pretty hard to do if it's coming from somewhere else.

Resistant teachers might be induced to include LRE content, but most observers felt that it was highly unlikely that they would use the interactive strategies at the heart of LRE. This suggests that efforts to expand the scope of LRE to include all teachers or even a significant number may not achieve the desired result of delivering quality LRE to all students. Having any chance of success would require massive resources to support extensive, long-term staff development that sought to resocialize teachers by having them redefine their role, the goals of education, and the pedagogy most appropriate for achieving those goals.

Moreover, follow-up support must include some assessment of what is actually being taught. This is especially important if an infusion model is adopted, since one of the primary purposes of this approach is to guarantee that all students have an opportunity to engage in LRE. If some teachers infuse and others do not, however, building a systematic program is impossible because some students will never have had the prerequisite learning opportunities. Follow-up support, then, must derive from an informed knowledge of what is occurring in the classroom and provide both group as well as individual staff development opportunities over an extended time period.

While mandating an LRE course or component of a course poses major quality control and training problems, there was almost universal consensus that a state or district mandate was also the strongest means to guarantee that LRE would continue over time. As one teacher observed, "Because it's not state-mandated, it could go by the wayside. Have it written into the district curriculum as a definite part of the fifth-grade curriculum. Now it's just an added thing, it's not down there in black and white."

Another teacher accurately summarized the impact of mandates when she remarked, "It would have to come from the top for everybody to do it. Because even if I wanted to do it, the third-grade teacher isn't going to choose to do it necessarily." A principal noted, "If it's an adopted, regular part of the curriculum; if it's a unit that is always done with the fifth-grade curriculum – then it would continue." An administrator observed, "If it's in the state framework, it will be in the district. We follow state objectives and use the state framework."

The content of training for mandated and infused LRE programs probably should have features that might not be found in a training program for receptive teachers. Obviously, both programs need to present a rationale for doing LRE, develop content expertise, model instructional methods, and provide opportunities for practice, feedback, and coaching. Programs based on mandated or infusion models also need to devote additional time to having teachers reexamine their educational goals, the role of the teacher in the classroom, and instructional methods most appropriate for achieving their goals. One principal accurately captured this need when she remarked:

> I think that first of all you have to develop an awareness level in the teachers that these materials even exist and why would we want to do this. What would be the benefit to students in the classroom to have this kind of instruction? What are our expectations, our goals and objectives? I think if they know all of these things, then they're making some decisions based upon sound knowledge about whether or not they want to participate. In addition, infusion models must devote time to showing

how to incorporate LRE into the curriculum and what may need to be deleted in order to find room for LRE.

Differences between elementary and secondary teachers can also affect training needs. Many elementary teachers have little or no social studies background and often feel uncomfortable with that field. However, most elementary teachers see an inherent fit between some LRE materials and their classroom objectives. This fit is most commonly seen in the areas of rules, responsibility, conflict resolution, authority, and other topics that enhance smooth day-to-day classroom and school operations.

Secondary instructors, on the other hand, have greater content expertise; with the exception of government/political science majors, however, they often have difficulty identifying how LRE supports their instructional objectives. Obviously, these variations have implications for training programs.

High-Visibility Events. Any discussion of the successes of the Bay City LRE program is incomplete without mentioning the special activities, especially the mock trial program. Although the poster contest, Law Day, and court visitation programs have all contributed substantially to improving the LRE program, the mock trial competition has generated the most interest and visibility within the district. Bay City students consistently do extremely well, and the publicity generated by this activity is enjoyed by board members, central office staff, principals, teachers, and students alike. As a highly visible showcase event, it generates enthusiasm and support with the schools and wider community; its popularity among diverse constituencies has been a major factor in its expansion to most of the junior high schools in the district.

The very factors that contributed to the mock trial program's success also pose problems, however. When asked to describe the LRE program in Bay City, principals universally spent very little time addressing the academic program; instead they devoted most of their comments to the mock trial competition. They consistently commented about how favorably the program reflected on the school, how it generated parental interest, and what good public relations it was. One principal suggested the program because it enhanced his magnet school's ability to attract high caliber students. Rarely did principals interviewed express similar enthusiasm for or knowledge of the academic course that provided the foundation for the mock trial effort. For principals, LRE had by and large become the mock trials, while the less glamorous day-to-day academic LRE program attracted little attention. This suggests that LRE advocates must take care to translate the enthusiasm generated by high-visibility programs into support for LRE academic endeavors.

Discussion

Evidence was presented earlier to indicate that the history-social science consultant had cultivated support among a variety of audiences, including central office staff, the legal community, and teachers. While these groups are not formally organized into LRE advocacy groups, their presence suggests that they might be able to bring sufficient pressure to bear to maintain LRE should it be threatened. While most respondents felt that the history-social science consultant's support was crucial for program continuation, some agreed with the history-social science consultant when he said, "I could sit by silently and others would argue to support it." While it is impossible to determine the long-term impact of these constituencies, their presence does make it more likely that LRE will continue.

Also the district had established procedures for initiating, evaluating, and incorporating new courses and acquiring instructional materials. Although these procedures have become more formalized, LRE's ability to meet all of the tests necessary to receive district adoption has greatly enhanced its

ability to survive. LRE has become part of the text adoption cycle, receiving the same attention for in-service planning that other approved courses receive and being listed in district course guides. As one respondent observed, "Even if it weren't taught here, it would still be in the curriculum guide if we got a new teacher who came in and wanted to and went out and recruited people. There's always a way."

Finally, student interest has helped maintain LRE. There was almost universal consensus that as long as there was a demand among students, LRE would continue. The director of curriculum and instruction indicated that "when there aren't enough students, it's not offered." He also suggested that to guarantee its continuation, students need to recruit other students. A principal listed student selection at the top of her list of factors maintaining the program. While not the only factor influencing building and district decision-makers, student interest is certainly a powerful factor in maintaining LRE in Bay City.

While limited in number and scope, barriers to institutionalization have exerted a restraining influence; like the facilitating factors, some are more important than others. Although the junior high LRE elective and mock trial program appear to be fairly well embedded in the Bay City curriculum, the elementary program seems to be fading. While the issues discussed below are elementary examples, to some degree the factors that negatively impact the elementary program also operate at other levels.

One of the most pressing problems for elementary teachers desiring to teach LRE in Bay City is an overcrowded curriculum. Even teachers who had been workshop leaders and who feel that LRE is essential reported that they no longer use the materials. The following comments are indicative of the time pressure that they feel:

> I'm not using it now and it's not because I don't like the program or wouldn't like to use it. We just don't have time in the curriculum any more. We have so much going on that I'd have to give up math or health or something else to do it for four to six weeks. But every once in awhile, I look at it and say I have to use it. It's true that if we did have a push from the district office or principal saying we'd really like you to use this again, we'd probably pull it out and dust it off and say "OK, it's time." We've had so many projects pushed in the meantime. We had a marine studies project two years ago and need to use that science stuff. We also have a DARE program, narcotics program, in the sixth [grade], so there isn't a feeling that they're not getting some kind of background in authority and those sorts of areas.

This comment suggests that not only time pressure may reduce teachers' willingness to engage in LRE but that programs perceived to be LRE (but which, in fact, are not) may also reduce willingness. This suggests that LRE and peripheral programs should be coordinated and that proponents of LRE must clearly delineate LRE's nature and purpose when they attempt to enter sites that have other programs that deal with legal issues.

Insufficient time for LRE simply made it easier to pass the ball to someone else. An administrator commented, "In most cases it's not a priority because of the sheer quantity of information covered in the guides and the time allocated to cover it. It just isn't enough. It needs to be implemented through reading and other disciplines."

Clearly, units that require weeks to complete have a difficult time gaining acceptance. Teacher's comments and behaviors, however, suggest that shortened units of several days' duration that could be "plugged in" at appropriate times would be most useful. Teachers reported that they continued to use the LRE concepts and strategies, even when they had abandoned the formal materials. When problems arose on the playground or in class, teachers with LRE training used the conceptual base

the training had given them; sometimes they even employed one or two sample LRE lessons to address a need.

The second serious factor inhibiting improvement and maintenance of the LRE program is difficult to describe accurately, but might best be seen as neglect. Teacher after teacher talked about how it was no longer a priority and how other new programs were the "big push." While LRE certainly continues to be top priority for the history-social science consultant, he has many tasks and must act in a balanced manner, not just as a program advocate. Moreover, in recent years he has not had sufficient resources to adequately maintain the program. Perhaps it is most helpful to consider any educational program as a closed system subject to the principle of entropy – the tendency of systems to lose energy and become chaotic. Any program, including LRE, if left unattended and unsupported over time will tend to deteriorate. Mandates may maintain a programmatic shell, but the quality of what happens within that shell will decline.

One of the key ways of injecting energy into an educational system is through training. Training is necessary for at least two reasons. First, personnel changes. Several teachers commented that new teachers really had little information about LRE and certainly had not had the energizing experience provided by workshops. Without periodic awareness and introductory staff development experiences, the cadre of trained teachers dwindles. The tendency of districts to launch new projects and shift priorities almost guarantees that in any given year the proponents of last year's innovation will be riding the latest bandwagon and no longer be investing the time and energy necessary to refine the previous innovation. This is particularly a problem at the elementary level, where each year brings a new textbook adoption in some discipline area and the resulting concentration of attention on that new text. For all of these reasons, "true believers" are replaced each year by individuals with minimal if any understanding of LRE.

The second reason why training must be conducted regularly is to upgrade the skills and maintain the enthusiasm of the experienced practitioners. In any subject area, even experts need periodic renewal, opportunities to receive the latest content information, learn new activities, and get together with other experienced practitioners to share ideas. Without new ideas, it is difficult to maintain initial enthusiasm. One supervisor observed, "Like anything else, we find a gradual slacking off. We need renewal every now and then. Some teachers are just really enthusiastic and others need a reminder." Unfortunately, neither level of training has been available for several years due to limited resources. Infusion, which requires that all teachers at a grade level teach specified content, exacerbates the problem because it increases the number of teachers who need training.

Closely related to the lack of workshops is a similar absence of systematic follow-up support. The elementary consultants and especially the history-social science consultants do what they can, but they are overwhelmed with a wide variety of other tasks. They simply do not have the time to devote exclusively to LRE what they would like or what it needs. One supervisor described the situation as follows:

> After attending the training last year, which I organized and helped set up, I left with the idea of getting other units going in our curriculum. Yet other responsibilities haven't enabled me to follow through with that. It's like any new materials that go in. If you just train them and don't have some kind of follow-up, periodically checking back, how is it going? You need a support system to follow up. We're a district of 56 elementary schools, and it's very difficult to follow up on that.

Another noted, "I have six other things to do and to try to get it in and do the coaching that will really make it effective has been very difficult. It gets more difficult all the time." So even when training does occur, the district simply has not invested the resources to nurture and build upon that ex-

perience. The central office staff, while doing as much as they can, simply do not have the time to provide the support that they recognize is essential.

Access to materials is another issue. Several teachers observed that it would be much easier to use the program if they had the kits in their building. When they have to travel to a central media center to check out the materials, they are less inclined to use them. One teacher remarked, "I think that access to kits at the building level is very important." Another described the situation as follows:

> Teachers change rapidly in a district. Each year when I did the authority unit, I would have to go down somewhere, wherever the curriculum center is THIS year, and pick up the kit. There's something about having the materials easily accessible so that you can look through them one night and say, "Gee, I'd like to do this, let's do it." If I have to put it on my memo pad to go by and pick it up, I'll pick something else that I have more easily at hand.

Clearly, providing kits to each building would strengthen the LRE program. The district has made an effort in this direction. It has made the filmstrips available through inhouse cable television, but many teachers commented that there were problems with curricular fit and the timing of the television series. So, while promotion of the materials through television was an attempt to address the issue of accessibility, it has not been a satisfactory solution for many teachers.

Another major limitation to institutionalization of LRE has been the inability of the district to systematically include LRE in the curriculum guides at all levels. While quality guides exist for court tours and the electives, the resources for conducting a K-12 curriculum revision that included LRE have not been available. Without a district decision to formally include LRE at all or most levels, it remains an option exercised by some highly motivated teachers, but not by many others. While experience suggests that simply because something is written in a curriculum guide does not guarantee that it will happen in classrooms, its presence does send a signal to all teachers that this is seen as a district priority. Inclusion in a guide probably increases the likelihood that the materials will be covered, especially by new teachers who have not been exposed to LRE through training. Again, this is not to suggest that the leaders of the LRE program have not done an exemplary job. Rather, it is an indication that they have not had the level of financial support, at the highest administrative level, that would be desirable.

Support from principals has been another factor limiting institutionalization of LRE. Some principals were extremely supportive and had a basic grasp of the academic thrust of the program. Many more were enamored with the mock trial but had little understanding of the purpose or methodology of LRE. Another group simply resisted the program and was not receptive to having it in their buildings. Their resistance was effective and demonstrated that without building-level support or a directive from the central office, initiating the program in new schools is extremely difficult.

The final group of principals illustrates a problem that LRE advocates may encounter frequently. This individual had extensive experience with LRE, thought it was a terrific program that achieved many desirable educationally sound objectives and was supported by exemplary materials and staff development programs; still, she made no effort to promote it in her building. She attributed this seeming contradiction to several factors. First, she had only been principal of her building for a few years. The first year was spent addressing major problems and getting her feet on the ground. The next years were spent initiating programs she perceived as district priorities and attending to what she felt were her accountable responsibilities. Hence, while the building-level decision-maker admired LRE and agreed that it addressed a need, she simply did not have the time to initiate the program. Other priorities were higher.

This finding suggests that merely selling LRE as a "good idea" is not sufficient. Decision-makers must not only see the value of the program, but also place a high enough priority on it that they are willing to invest the resources necessary for successful implementation. It is not a choice between good and unworthy programs, but a choice among educational innovations that offer sound rationales, good materials, and exemplary training. Somehow, LRE proponents must convince key decision-makers that LRE is a higher priority than the competing innovations and that commitment must be maintained long enough for the program to secure a solid footing within the school. It is unlikely that many principals in their first year or two are going to devote a lot of time or energy to starting a new program unless there is a crying need. Their priorities will most likely be establishing themselves as leaders in the building and impressing the central office with their abilities.

Lack of support created by new principals, inability to access materials, and insufficient training opportunities are all examples of entropy in operation. Needs in all of these areas arose as a result of changes within the system, in this instance the school district. At one point during the initial phases of the project, these needs probably did not exist. Many principals were knowledgeable and supportive, teachers had materials, and staff had been trained. As personnel shifted and new individuals became involved at different levels of the district, these needs arose. Many of the respondents clearly indicated that if quality LRE is to remain, someone must continue to invest energy. The following remarks clearly indicate that projects cannot simply be put in place with the assumption that they will maintain themselves:

> But I think that if we wanted to have it as more of a force it would need somebody like _____ [history-social science consultant] to bring it to people's minds again. There it is in the back of my mind and it really is a great program, but I don't notice that I've implemented it here at school, and I certainly have a lot of knowledge about it. But I also know the constraints the district is working under and the number of things that you have to do. It needs leadership specifically for that material.

> It was really pushed for awhile. It was in and now it's kind of faded out, mainly because it is not pushed by the district. They are not offering a lot of inservice on how to use it. Every semester or every other semester they should say, "Here's this program; we're offering an inservice." I think that's the main reason it could go. Like anything else, things [programs] need to be advertised or people don't buy into them. It may be an excellent program, but if no one knows about it, it's going to slip.

A principal noted that it would not survive "unless there's always an advocate for the program. If _____ [history-social science consultant] were to leave and another consultant take over in social studies who was not necessarily bent towards this type of education, it would die away." The history-social science consultant himself observed, "Maintenance and support from the outside need to be ongoing. You don't just plant a seed, nurture it, and go away. Somehow the nationals have to find a way to help the (he names several prominent social studies coordinators involved in LRE). I think that that is important or maybe even critical."

In conclusion, it is impossible to state conclusively that LRE will continue or that it will dribble away if the current history-social science consultant leaves his position. Certainly at this point, he is the key person holding the program together – trying to find time among his many responsibilities to nurture LRE, trying to secure the resources necessary for program renewal, and working to build a strong enough advocacy base that when he does leave the district there will be enough proponents to maintain the program. Some observers felt that this base had been achieved and that LRE was secure. At least an equal number felt less secure. They did not feel that the program was threatened as long as the current consultant was in office, but they were apprehensive about whether a critical

mass – whose demands would induce a new consultant to continue to nurture the program – had been achieved.

Interestingly, there was broad consensus that the mock trial program was institutionalized. There was also some hope that because maintaining the mock trial competition without a course base would be difficult, the courses would also survive. This finding demonstrates that analyzing innovations from a cost-benefit perspective provides useful insights into which programs will continue and which will not.

This analysis clearly demonstrates the tremendous difficulties facing efforts to institutionalize any innovation, but it also indicates that careful planning, dedication, and long-term commitment to an ideal can contribute to LRE programs' ability to maintain quality while expanding and becoming an ongoing part of a district's curriculum. It also highlights the ability of a few knowledgeable and skilled people to make a significant educational contribution.

CASE STUDY: CAPITAL CITY

Demographics

Capital City is a large suburban school district adjacent to the state capital of a western state. Although the district retains a largely upper middle class character, with a strong professional core, immigrants and minority students have become an increasing presence. Total enrollment in the district in 1987 was 45,709, with 2,400 teachers and 212 administrators. District facilities included 49 elementary schools, two K-8 schools, nine intermediate, nine high schools, two special education centers, two continuation high schools, one technical center, one adult school, one handicapped adult education center, and one center for pregnant minors and young parents.

The district is widely respected for providing quality education. Being close to the state capital, it is a target for projects seeking political visibility, a fact enhanced by the presence of many state employees residing in the district. Although there has been turnover in the superintendency, district leadership has generally been stable during the life of the LRE project, which is now approaching 20 years. The individual most responsible for the development and continuation of LRE in Capital City has been social studies coordinator for almost 20 years, is nationally recognized as a leading social studies educator, has served on numerous state and national professional boards, and is respected by teachers, administrators, and community members.

Current LRE Program

Like most long-standing LRE programs, Capital City's program is multifaceted, with various components having been added over time. The core of the program is a semester twelfth-grade elective – "Political Science: A Study in Criminal and Civil Law"; this course is offered in most high schools. One of the instructors has conducted state and national workshops and is recognized as one of the outstanding LRE practitioners in the country. When properly implemented, the course relies upon three texts – *Street Law, Democracy Under Pressure,* and *The American Constitution and Civil Liberties*. In addition, numerous supplementary materials are suggested. The social studies coordinator and many of the teachers involved in the program favor the interactive instructional methods found to have optimal impact on reducing delinquency. Field experiences are considered an integral component of the course for most teachers. There is evidence, however, that a small minority of instructors employ traditional "read-and-recite" approaches.

At the elementary level, LRE concepts and methodology are infused sporadically into the curriculum. The degree to which this occurs appears to be largely dependent upon the interest of individual teachers, although the district has prepared a matrix showing where the basal elementary social studies series addresses LRE issues. Plans are currently underway to develop a matrix showing where supplemental LRE lessons not found in the text might be infused. The district has also designed four- to six-week units focusing on the criminal justice system. These units have been developed for grades 6 and 8.

Another facet of the district's LRE program is its mock trial competition, which has evolved into a county-wide program. This mock trial effort involves both elementary and secondary students and is extremely popular with students, parents, teachers, and administrators. An important element of the mock trial program has been a cross-age tutoring component, in which students from all high schools work with younger students to prepare them for the competition. In addition, the senior high school law elective in two high schools involves cross-age tutoring that is not related to the competition. Although teachers at the other senior high schools are aware of this option and have instructions for implementing it, only two schools have participated to date. The mock trial program itself has expanded each year and has proven so popular that the elementary coordinator has been un-

able to accommodate all of the interested schools. The mock trial competition together with a moot court competition and student debates form the basis for an annual law conference.

A second nonacademic component of Capital City's LRE program at the junior and senior high school level is conflict management. Half of the high schools and some junior high schools are involved in this program.

The district has been a driving force in the establishment of LRE programs in neighboring districts. Community and district LRE leaders from Capital City were instrumental in developing an LRE/citizenship center at the central office of the county superintendent of schools. This center has become a regional exponent and support base for LRE. It coordinates the county law conference, has directed various bicentennial activities, and generally serves as a support center for LRE programs in county schools. Its initiation and development were directly related to the antecedent efforts in Capital City and to the efforts by those involved in the Capital City program to disseminate LRE beyond the boundaries of their district. While the center is independent of Capital City, a description of Capital City's LRE effort would be incomplete without mentioning this spin-off program.

Program Development: Awareness and Adoption

Evolution of LRE in Capital City has followed a complex route and involved a wide range of individuals both within and outside the district. It has responded to pressures and seized opportunities. During the almost 20 years of its existence, the LRE program has moved in directions that were not initially envisioned but are supportive of a consistent philosophical framework. One of those closely involved in initial planning for LRE in Capital City remarked, "In terms of a master plan like you're talking about, strategies to get it infused, I don't think there was one, OK? I think there were incremental steps, but maybe (the social studies coordinator) might have had a grand design in his mind, but for the rest of us working on it I don't think that there was a grand design. It was responsive to money and opportunity. Like Topsy it grew. I don't think that the management plan for this has been written."

Throughout its development, unity has been provided by a coherent educational philosophy and stable district leadership. While additional steps are desirable to maintain and renew the LRE effort, it has survived changing educational and community environments, staff turnover, budgetary pressures, and a host of other events that could have caused its demise.

Social and Educational Climate. Before describing the early stages of LRE in Capital City, it is important to consider the social and educational climate in which initial decisions were made. Law-related education workshops focusing on materials and strategies from the Constitutional Rights Foundation first occurred in Capital City in 1969—a time of social divisiveness, conflict, and mass demonstrations. This social upheaval reached into many schools, causing walkouts, demonstrations, and calls for curricular reform. While extreme turmoil did not strike Capital City, its administrators and school board members were well aware that these events were in many areas, giving rise to calls for law and order and the teaching of citizenship.

Education was also in a state of flux. Responding to cries for relevancy, many districts—Capital City included—developed an array of mini-courses on a broad range of topics. Students had increasing freedom of choice, as a virtual smorgasbord of curricular offerings appeared. Extensive federal funding for training and materials supported innovation. The "new social studies" projects emphasized challenging, inquiry-oriented studies in which students were to master the "structure of a discipline." Critical and higher order thinking skills became primary objectives. Teaching these new programs required new teacher behaviors. Idealistic education graduates, students of the works of

Holt, Silberman, and A.S. Neill, entered the public school systems imbued with the desire to offer more meaningful and humanistic education.

Thus, both internal and external pressures were propelling schools into a time of change, instability, and – in some instances – renewal. In Capital City, these pressures created several conditions that had a direct bearing upon the future of LRE in the district. First, the curriculum was in a state of flux. This provided an opportunity for new programs, including LRE, to enter the schools more readily than they might have done in a time of social and political quietude and curricular rigidity. Second, the professional literature and "new social studies" projects called for new instructional methodologies. The social studies coordinator in Capital City saw LRE as a vehicle for staff development. He felt that LRE training would provide teachers with strategies and instructional techniques that could be used to improve instruction not only in LRE classes but across the social studies curriculum. Finally, LRE was seen by the social studies coordinator, administrators, board members, and teachers as a constructive approach for dealing with many of the government- and citizenship-related issues students were raising.

District-Level Characteristics. While broad social and educational forces combined to create a favorable environment for the adoption of LRE, organizational traits and norms peculiar to Capital City also exerted a salutary influence. First, the social studies coordinator, a strong proponent of LRE, was well known and respected in the district. His credibility, coupled with a superintendent and board who were willing to delegate authority, allowed the social studies coordinator to make many of the key decisions regarding programs, such as LRE, in his area. Given his strong position within the district, the coordinator's support of LRE virtually assured that it would be piloted.

Capital City's reputation as an innovative, receptive, and sound district also facilitated initial adoption of LRE. The district had clear procedures for bringing new curricular areas into the existing curriculum. The social studies coordinator and teachers felt comfortable suggesting the addition of LRE to the curriculum because the board and administration had previously demonstrated receptivity to curricular changes based upon thoughtful analysis. At the same time LRE was being planned, programs in the High School Geography Project, Anthropology, and Inquiry were also underway. Federal funds were used to pay teachers to develop innovative curriculum, for release time, and for conference fees. Unlike many districts, Capital City rewarded innovative teachers financially and in other ways.

A history of thoughtful innovation and established procedures for implementing curriculum changes therefore afforded LRE opportunities that might not have existed in more inflexible districts. The importance of the unique situational variables and climate in Capital City at that time are illustrated by one informant's remark – "In different times with a different board it might not have passed."

Perception of Need. One essential ingredient in both the decision to adopt LRE and its longevity has been need. Virtually all of the interviewees who were involved in the initial phases of the program indicated that LRE addressed perceived needs. In some instances different individuals perceived LRE as responding to different needs, but all agreed that it was a reasonable response to personal or organizational issues. The social studies coordinator indicated that his primary interest in LRE derived from a desire to make social studies interesting and that LRE was a vehicle for doing that. He saw his charge from the board and superintendent as "moving social studies out of the doldrums and to stop killing kids' interest." Closely related to this need was an interest in providing staff development opportunities to teachers as part of an effort to inject stimulating instructional strategies into classrooms. Again, LRE was a vehicle for accomplishing this objective.

While the superintendent saw the above needs, he was also interested in forging school/community links. He wanted to "involve the community in a meaningful way, especially the legal com-

munity." Community involvement was seen by the superintendent as one means of responding to the demands for "relevancy." Teachers reported a concern for student behavior and a recognition that traditional methods of instruction had had little visible impact on student conduct. There was a clear perception that LRE provided students with knowledge, skills, and attitudes that they would need to be effective citizens. One teacher remarked, "Part of it may have been because of the atmosphere of the late 60s and early 70s; there was a real need for kids to know more about the legal system, not just as something to learn about, but how it affected them and how they could affect it and because there was a need, there was money to do it."

Teachers and administrators have continued to see LRE as a necessary citizenship approach. Demographic changes within the district (an influx of immigrants and minorities) have helped maintain a highly visible need for citizenship education. Thus, within the district, LRE was and continues to be seen as an essential component of the curriculum. Not only did teachers, the superintendent, and the social studies coordinator see needs that LRE could satisfy, at least three members of the school board were strong advocates of experiential education. LRE's community-based learning strategies naturally appealed to these officials.

Members of the local justice and law enforcement communities also recognized a need for LRE. A lawyer who has been essential in promoting involvement of the bar association indicated that lawyers saw a clear need for students to understand the law and judicial processes. In addition, many members of the young lawyers association were concerned about improving the public image of lawyers and the law. LRE, with the opportunities it presented for working with youth, was seen as an appropriate means of addressing both needs. The legal community's interest in LRE was an essential ingredient in Capital City's decision to pilot the program. The social studies coordinator knew that successful implementation of the project would require the presence of lawyers and other community resource persons in the classroom. Assurances from the lawyers that a sufficient cadre of interested resource persons would be available to support the program was crucial when the district decided to pursue further program development.

Availability of Resources. The presence of two national LRE curriculum projects also had an important impact on the decision-making process. This influence took several forms. First, the district's location close to the state capital, residency of many political figures within the district, and the district's reputation as a state and national leader made it an attractive pilot site. The social studies coordinator realized that the national projects would therefore invest resources to make the Capital City LRE effort a showcase. In 1971, one national project received its first large grant from the state bar association and invited Capital City to be one of six pilot sites. Although few printed instructional resources were then available, the district would be eligible for new materials when they were produced and would receive staff training in their use. Second, the decision was made in an era of intense federal funding for educational improvement. The solid funding base from the national projects and other federal funds encouraged the social studies coordinator to commit to the program. Without assurance that resources adequate to the task would be available, the decision by the social studies coordinator and ultimately the board to adopt LRE would have been problematical at best.

Other Factors. While the adoption process seemed to support previous research suggesting that need, adequate resources, strong community and district support, a thoughtful innovative tradition, and support from outside experts are ingredients for successful institutionalization, the process did contradict at least one previous finding. Although the Capital City staff had a clear philosophy that would guide the evolution of LRE, they did not have a vision of the final product. While much energy was devoted to exploring what LRE should look like, no consensus was reached. No one in Capital City at that time would have described the current LRE program as their objective. However,

there was general consensus that LRE should be interactive, involve the community as both a learning environment and a resource to bring into the classroom, promote the development of thoughtful, participating citizens, and cover content derived from the legal/judicial dimension of political science.

In closing this discussion, it should be noted that the adoption decision was essentially a "top down" model. The superintendent, convinced by the social studies coordinator that LRE would address district needs, supported the program. The board, led by a Deweyite faction, considered LRE a worthy program. These key decision-makers then began the planning and implementation process that would breathe life into LRE.

Program Development: Implementation and Evolution

Although the decision to pilot LRE followed a thoughtful course and seemed to have many of the ingredients necessary for success, adoption does not guarantee a model or long-lasting program. A growing body of research suggests that a wide range of factors that come into play during program implementation decisively influence the prospects for institutionalization. As with the adoption process, these factors interact and represent a complex whole. Careful analysis of the experience in Capital City suggests that some factors may be more critical than others, but that all influence the process.

It is important to remember that the evolution of the Capital City project occurred prior to much of the research on organizational change and institutionalization. The project leaders, therefore, did not have the benefit of this research, and their steps towards institutionalization have often been directed by their experiences with the project. It is also essential to consider that their efforts have been influenced by declining resources and the necessity of the social studies coordinator to address the responsibilities of that role and not simply to focus on LRE.

Respected Leadership. Throughout the evolution of the LRE program, the social studies coordinator has performed a variety of essential roles. He has been the advocate who represented the program at the central office. He has employed the power and resources of his office to secure funding for training, in-house curriculum development, and acquisition of materials. He has helped teachers secure release time to attend conferences and other training opportunities. He has promoted the program by talking with teachers and principals. He has suggested the addition of new components, such as the mock trial competitions, that have expanded the program and enhanced community, administrator, and teacher support for and involvement in LRE.

Interviews with teachers and principals consistently led back to the social studies coordinator. When district staff were asked how they heard about materials, conferences, or workshops, the answer invariably was, "_____ told me about it." When queried about how they became involved, again answers pointed to the social studies coordinator. He has disseminated information, identified or created opportunities for professional growth, and generated enthusiasm and a "shot in the arm" when needed. The importance of the social studies coordinator to the success and longevity of the LRE program cannot be over-estimated. The program simply would not have evolved as it has without his leadership. He has described the fit between his responsibility as social studies coordinator and promoting LRE as "a natural."

Training and Follow-up. Although the social studies coordinator played a critical role, other factors were also essential. One of the initial and most decisive steps in the development of LRE in Capital City was having staff members attend a summer institute conducted by Law in a Free Society. This institute not only provided intensive training in content and strategies, but also required participants to attune themselves to the political realities of curriculum change by developing specific plans for implementation.

A key element in the back-home plans was formation of an advisory board that included representatives from the PTA, the local bar association, law enforcement agencies, judges association, central office, and administrators. This board quickly proved its worth by fulfilling two functions. First, it was instrumental in the identification and recruitment of community resource persons to work with the LRE project. Second, it lobbied for LRE with the school board. Frequent informational presentations kept LRE before the board and kept them aware of progress made by the program. This visibility and awareness of program strengths was essential in cultivating and maintaining board support for LRE. It is important to note that these efforts were not in response to a threat to the LRE program, but were part of an ongoing, low-keyed informational effort intended to forge a collegial relationship between the board and proponents of LRE.

While the initial training was instrumental to the long-term success of LRE in Capital City, other outcomes were equally important. First, a cadre of Capital City staff members became LRE "true believers" and developed an in-house training capacity. These individuals were able to conduct local training, assume leadership in curriculum development efforts, and generally enhance the credibility of LRE within Capital City schools. One respondent noted, "If you can do a workshop and you can say 'I tried this lesson and this is what happened,' it just has more credibility to the audience because they know me or whomever or I can say 'Go see Roy who teaches third grade at such and such school and he's doing this and this' and that makes them feel like there is somebody around here who is doing it, trying it and making it work and therefore, I'll try it."

The local training conducted in Capital City served several functions. First, it generated enthusiasm. One respondent commented how nice it felt to be "treated like a professional, something that teachers rarely experience." Another trainee said, "Teachers will be more attuned if you help them along the way instead of just giving them a box of materials, saying 'here it is, go do it.' That's why LFS's workshops were so well received for so long. One, teachers got knowledge for themselves, but also the how-to; here it is and here's how you're going to do it and I'm here to help you if you need help along the way. You always had someone to call upon."

The long duration of training, 30 hours, provided teachers with an opportunity to learn new content or strategies and then apply them in their classes. They then returned to the LRE training course and discussed the effectiveness of their instruction and shared ideas for improving the lesson. This practice, feedback, and collegial interaction had several benefits. It helped create an *esprit de corps* among the teachers, and it provided them with an opportunity to refine their skills in a supportive environment. The process reinforced norms that supported LRE experiential education. Successful classroom application of a new content or strategy generated student enthusiasm, which in turn spurred teacher enthusiasm for LRE. The training sessions provided an opportunity for teachers to transmit their own enthusiasm and that of their students to other teachers.

Teachers consistently commented that student enthusiasm for a lesson was responsible for teachers continuing to use that lesson and similar approaches. This suggests that (1) instructional activities be written to enhance student enjoyment, and (2) that teachers receive sufficient training to provide a high probability that they will use a strategy successfully. If teachers do not encounter initial success, they are less likely to continue to use an innovation, especially if there is no opportunity for support or a collegial atmosphere in which to improve the lesson or unit.

District supervisors found that the local LRE training had a diffusion effect, reaching beyond the initial trainees. A district supervisor explained, "If you got the first 20 percent to try it, another 30 to 40 percent may try it...a few who create a norm that it's OK to do it. This finding and the related finding that long-term staff development with opportunities for collegial interaction can strengthen norms conducive to LRE are significant.

Another consequence of the local training was that it served to maintain and strengthen the commitment of the local teachers who led it. By continually being involved in planning and presenting sessions, they not only enhanced their knowledge of current LRE materials and strategies, but acquired a personal stake in LRE's success. Doing workshops, attending conferences, being perceived as an LRE expert, receiving district recognition and financial rewards, and writing curriculum all served to strengthen a sense of commitment.

Local training also brought teachers and community resource persons together. This interaction had several salutary results. First, teachers became acquainted with the range of resources available and willing to assist them. This familiarity increased their willingness to ask community members to visit their classes. This interaction also paid handsome political dividends. One observer described these benefits as follows:

> What it does is create a positive image of what's going on in the classroom with their kids and their neighbor's kids and their co-workers' kids. When those people leave and go back to their work site, you know that in the cocktail hour conversation and lunch meetings whenever that school's name comes up they say, "Oh, I was out there, they've got a good course." Those kinds of comments ultimately come back to people in the administration, both at the district and site level, and of course that builds brownie points and political cards you can call in. As a teacher, there is some political mileage in that.

Currently a principal, this respondent clearly saw the involvement of community members in LRE as building a political base in support of the program. Without the involvement of community members in training, securing their classroom participation and the political power that derived from it would have been more difficult.

Although individual teachers are now responsible for securing their own resource persons, this has not always been the case. The social studies coordinator found that unless steps were taken to overcome the barriers to using resource persons, most teachers did not use them. Initially, therefore, the district funded someone to assist teachers in securing resource persons for their classes. The social studies coordinator observed, "If you don't have that component (help in getting resource persons), it won't work. Individual teachers will build up their roladexes, but unless the system (a) provides a list of the resource persons, (b) does some training of those resources, and (c) helps the teacher obtain those resources, you're not going to have anything happen in my opinion. Once you get them doing it, the system can back off because they will have their own roladex plus they know the value of it."

Many LRE participants in Capital City suggested that different curricular models required variations in training. There seemed to be consensus that any training needed to address both LRE content and strategies. However, curricular models promoting a separate LRE course needed a training program that helped teachers develop a course design. This might include such features as an examination of essential concepts in the field, the relationship among them, varying interpretations of them, sensible patterns for sequencing instruction in the area, a review of existing materials and how parts might be selected from each and integrated into a systematic whole, a brief discussion of the characteristics of the intended audience, criteria for materials selection, and the role of goals and objectives in course design.

Curricular models based on infusion presented a different set of training needs. Interviews with teachers across the district indicated that there was no systemwide agreement of what would be infused, where, or how. Infusion was entirely dependent upon the interest of individual teachers. As a result, teachers with an affinity for LRE would infuse it frequently, while other teachers might ignore

it. Some students were exposed to LRE, but many were not. One principal who is supportive of LRE observed:

> It would work better if it's somehow part of the framework – if it's mandated from the district. Then it has more credibility. You need objectives by grade level. I don't think that's really clear to the staff. Those kinds of things have to come from the top. Now, I have a feeling that it gets done if there is time in the year somewhere and there never is. You have to make it a district priority and then it will happen. You need to showcase LRE and show where it fits and what goes where.

Training in infusion, therefore, requires developing some consensus about what should be infused and where, so that all students taking a course are exposed to similar learning opportunities.

The crowded curriculum created another set of unique needs for infusion training. Elementary personnel consistently indicated that they felt LRE was important; many agreed that it was a valuable way of systematically socializing students into the school and other social environments. Even among individuals who rated it as extremely important, however, few took the time to do entire LRE units. One respondent reported:

> The average fifth-grade teacher can't finish the text in a year now. If we want that teacher to also do LRE because we think that the kinds of activities that LRE involves are good for kids and make them better citizens and more willing to take risks and become good decision-makers, etc., then we are going to have to find a way for them to do that. Either we're going to have to say, "OK, don't do these units in the book and do this package of materials instead," or else the other thing we're going to have to do is look at these lessons in your book and don't just talk about the Constitution. Take the time to do this lesson over here, this activity where you break the students up into groups and have them do whatever the activity is. That's LRE; you don't just want them to read the book.

A principal observed:

> We keep adding things on, but never subtract. What we're having now is the staff is being made to feel guilty because they can't cover the material they think they ought to be able to cover. Now when you take a look at this kind of program you may say, "Well, it's social studies and so you can reduce some of the other social studies," but nobody tells teachers that and so they're left feeling guilty, overworked, and frustrated.

One elementary teacher described the problem of conflicting demands as follows:

> We're tested on content. The thing that I hear from teachers is "Well, golly, is that gonna be on the state test, because that's how we're judged." You can be the most innovative person around and have the most wonderful program in the entire state, but if your test scores weren't up, something is wrong. Cover the content and that means lecture. Most teachers I know feel that learning takes place at the end of a pencil. Learning does not take place at the end of a pencil. Learning takes place in the mind.

After the initial local training, Capital City continued to use funds available from the national projects, as well as some local funds, to conduct extensive teacher training and some curriculum planning. Each year, more and more teachers were prepared to use LRE materials. Those involved identified key factors in the success of the workshops: salary or university credits were offered; training was done during district time rather than after school; the materials provided and instructional

strategies presented were appropriate; and participants had an opportunity to develop skills before moving on to a new area.

Over time this process resulted in individual teachers' generating a number of courses that could be identified as LRE. At least some of these training programs brought K-12 teachers together, resulting in expansion of the program beyond the initial secondary focus. Throughout this process local trainers worked with representatives of the national projects to plan and deliver staff development opportunities. The nationals played a key role in disseminating new ideas and materials to the locals.

High-Quality Curriculum Materials. Early curriculum planning, as expected, heightened the sense of ownership and commitment of those involved. During the early years of LRE in Capital City, local curriculum development was a necessity because of the scarcity of readily available and comprehensive materials appropriate for a range of students. This scarcity no longer exists, and the role of materials in promoting the commitment of second- and later-generation teachers was most informative. Teachers consistently remarked that an important part of their willingness to begin and continue to teach LRE was the availability of high-quality instructional materials that were easy to use, did not require an inordinate investment in preparation time, and were flexible both in how they can be used and in the time allotments necessary for successful application. One teacher captured the sentiments of most teachers when he remarked:

> For teachers that's a key. Can you give them something that can be used easily? Because if you can't, no one will do it. It will sit in someone's closet.

Another teacher observed:

> I didn't have to go find it, it was there! It was understandable; there was a packet for the kids and stuff for the teacher. You could just take the activities and use them. There was all sorts of flexibility. The people who wrote it knew kids. It's interesting for kids.

Another respondent observed:

> I saw how well it fit. You teach authority anyway. If an adult corrects you in class, you listen. LRE gave me materials that were better than what I was using. It was flexible. I didn't have to show a film if I didn't want to.

These comments suggest that while local development can promote a sense of ownership, it is not essential. What is essential is that the teachers have an opportunity to be involved in the decisions influencing their classes, that they have high-quality materials that teach to their objectives and that generate student interest, that those materials be easy to use and not require extensive background or preparation time, and that the materials be flexible enough to accommodate a range of students and time frames.

Individual Factors. An issue that brings training and materials together is the question of who should be trained. A careful analysis of the individuals involved in LRE in Capital City produced two patterns. The first and predominating pattern was that certain individuals were attracted to LRE because of the fit between LRE and their personal educational philosophies. Teachers who believed in interactive, experiential, practical education were naturally attracted to LRE. One respondent said that he was attracted to LRE because it fit his philosophy that "learning takes place by doing." Another said "the #1 appeal was the strategies, active experiential learning. I think kids are information-rich and experience-poor."

Most converts to LRE – whether elementary or secondary teachers – described their initial reaction to LRE as attraction to the strategies. One of the LRE trainers for the district, who later became director of the LRE/citizenship center for the county, commented about the people who attended LRE training: "They are people looking for the methodology part of it. I don't think that we got very many traditionalists."

A second and much smaller group of LRE converts reported that their initial interest was based on content. One teacher commented:

> LRE was timely, something that kids could relate to in the here and now. It was concrete information kids could take out and use. For information to be valuable to kids, they need to know how to use it and what it means to me. You have to relate as best you can everything that you teach to that here-and-now moment.

Another teacher remarked:

> It was good for kids, something that would help a student develop into a better citizen. Something that would make a student more secure knowing what he was doing was right or wrong – having some basis for what he is doing rather than just flopping around and really being concerned about the student as a person rather than the student as a subject. If the student was being reached as a person the style wasn't all that important.

While this teacher did not mention instructional strategies, she did suggest that the content of LRE is inherently useful and relates to the needs and interests of students. These observations reflect a pedagogic orientation very different from that of an individual who sees the role of education as the simple transmission of historical "facts."

The appeal of content was even more direct for some teachers, as this remark indicates:

> I worked for a D.A. during college so I had an interest in it. I was a political science major and got a chance to teach government. I wanted to do the judiciary. It was my favorite part. My favorite part of the government class was the judiciary so when I got a chance to teach law, I wanted it moved into it when ____ moved.

A small percentage of teachers, usually political science majors, reported a similar affinity for the law as a content area.

These findings suggest that there is a group of teachers who by the nature of their pedagogic orientation are predisposed to liking LRE. They believe in the methodological approach and/or are attracted by information that is meaningful, practical, and necessary for being an involved and informed citizen. Another group of teachers is drawn to LRE by the content itself.

These two groups can provide a solid foundation for the initiation of LRE programs. Because of their natural attraction to LRE, they may be more receptive to training and more willing to invest the time and energy necessary to launch any pilot program. They are more easily socialized into applying the instructional strategies at the heart of delinquency prevention. The corollary is that individuals who are not attracted by the pedagogy, who are oriented towards the inculcation of other knowledge bases, and whose interests lie in other discipline areas will require substantially more training and resocialization in order to become effective LRE teachers.

This position is supported by the findings in Capital City. The social studies coordinator observed:

> For example, if I have a workshop where Lee Arbetman comes in from Street Law, I can't keep my law teachers away from those inservices, even if I don't tell them about it. But, if I open it up to U.S. history teachers and said, "Lee, I want you to talk about infusion," I don't know how many I'd get to sign up. They might be converted to foreign policy or international relations or economics or geography...and so to get inside there's a lot of competition to get a place in the curriculum for LRE.

At another point he remarked:

> To further expand LRE into schools you have to crack the nut of infusion in American government, world history, and U.S. history. That's a continual problem and a continually tough problem to try to get inside that and initially we tried to do that, but there were no materials. There are a lot of obstacles. Resistance comes from history teacher training. Political science people see the tie in and are easier to get to buy in. History people don't see time for LRE; [they feel] LRE isn't the best way to get kids to do the stuff of history; LRE doesn't train kids to know history – coverage is a big issue.

There was general agreement that U.S. and world history teachers often resisted doing LRE despite having training and materials. They simply did not see a fit between LRE content and their own, they were not attracted by the non-traditional methodologies associated with LRE, and they did not see LRE as addressing the same educational goals that history addressed. If teachers with this perspective are ever to become effective and enthusiastic LRE instructors, it will require extensive resocialization, which demands long-term use of extensive resources.

Obviously, this finding raises some questions about infusing LRE into courses whose instructors are by and large not receptive. It also raises serious questions about the delivery of LRE courses. As long as LRE is an elective, even one of the most popular in Capital City, one teacher per building can handle all of the classes. Should it become a course with huge enrollments (if mandated, for example), finding enough "true believers" to teach the course might be impossible. One teacher who has seen the consequences of having an unwilling teacher serve as an LRE instructor observed, "People who are assigned to teach LRE who don't want to teach it don't put the time and effort in to make it the worthwhile course it could be." Additional data suggested that student interest waned in such circumstances; this could be critical, as teachers and administrators agree that one of the essential components keeping LRE in Capital City is student enthusiasm.

Another way of looking at the problem of recruitment was expressed by a principal, who said, "In any school there are x number of innovative teachers. The more programs you have, the less likely new ones are to be well received – the pool of teachers is exhausted." Teachers expressed a similar sentiment, with some evincing a desire to work on a new project after spending several years on one innovation and burning out.

Those disseminating LRE must gauge the saturation point of districts and teachers. New programs require inordinate investments of time and energy; if those who are receptive to change are already involved in one or two programs, they are unlikely to participate in anything else. They simply aren't "hungry." This suggests that preselection data be collected to identify districts, buildings, and teachers that are seeking a new effort to absorb their time and energy and to ascertain to what extent LRE might address needs perceived by staff members.

Closely related to the issue of receptivity is that of teacher commitment. With few exceptions, most of the respondents indicated that LRE had been a high priority for them from the moment they heard about it. When asked to rate its importance on a scale from one to ten, with ten being the most important thing in their lives, most interviewees said LRE was a seven or higher. This suggests

that not only did certain teachers feel an affinity for LRE, but that they felt that it was important – a key factor in motivating them to devote time and energy to LRE.

Formal Board Recognition. Despite the gradual expansion of the LRE program, it took almost eight years before the board formally approved the senior high school elective. By 1981-82, at the board's insistence, the LRE program was written on paper in a manner similar to other accepted courses. Observers now generally agree that this step should have been taken much sooner, as it provided the program with a sense of legitimacy.

Formal recognition of a program not only means board approval, but also guarantees that a course will become part of the district curriculum revision and textbook adoption cycles. These processes help to guarantee the institutionalization of the program by assuring periodic review and materials acquisition to support the program. In addition, they lend a sense of permanency that is absent as long as a program exists on a trial or school-by-school basis.

Support of Principals and Colleagues. Much educational change literature has identified building principals as gatekeepers and change agents, contending that their active involvement as instructional leaders is critical for the success of an innovation. The findings in Capital City, while suggesting a less dramatic role for principals, nonetheless indicated that support from principals was necessary. Teachers agreed that principals needed to support field trips, visits by community resource persons, and interactive instructional strategies that often generated noise and movement in the classroom. Without support for – or at least toleration of – these activities, quality LRE cannot exist. Perhaps because LRE is often led by one teacher in one classroom, the role of the principal as instructional leader is reduced vis-a-vis LRE. This may not be the case, however, if infusion is attempted across all grade levels or by teachers in an elementary setting. In those situations, the active involvement of a principal as an instructional leader may be crucial.

Capital City teachers reported a similar need for collegial support for LRE. Because of the active learning characteristics of LRE and the need for students to miss non-LRE classes once each semester, LRE teachers found that they needed to secure the support and cooperation of their colleagues, even those outside of their department. LRE instructors readily admitted that infringements on the class time of other teachers should be minimized or they would engender opposition to LRE. This finding supports previous research that identified collegial relations within the school as a characteristic of quality LRE programs.

Although no one mentioned consensus-building as contributing to the institutionalization of LRE, interviews did establish that as new components were added to the LRE program, the process often used a consensus-building model. At no time were schools or individuals forced to adopt a program they did not want. More positively, staff and teachers worked together to design and implement new programs. In many cases, those who developed the programs were used to "sell" them to others in the district and to provide the expertise to help those who bought in.

Addition of High-Visibility Events. As the curricular dimension of the program became more widely accepted, the social studies coordinator began to confront a variety of issues. First, he felt a need to maintain the initial enthusiasm of teachers who had been doing LRE five or more years. He also was considering how to continue to expand the program. Apparently, all or most of the "easy receptors" had already bought into LRE, but there were still schools that did not participate. While workshops highlighting national project personnel might provide a "shot in the arm" for veterans and possibly attract some new recruits, they could not by themselves adequately address the problems. As a result, the social studies coordinator began to investigate innovations in the field of LRE – mock trial competitions, use of students as conflict mediators, and others – and several auxiliary programs thereby became part of the LRE effort in Capital City.

The most important of these new additions was the mock trial program, later followed by a county-wide mock trial competition. The mock trial and moot court competition and student debate represented a conscious effort by the social studies coordinator to expand the LRE program. He commented:

> The mock trial and moot court competitions were a conscious attempt to appeal to the back-to-basics movement and the emphasis on competition. Extra-curricular programs were a way to use community resource persons and keep excitement in schools about LRE and keep receptivity. Every year since 1971 we have done something.

One principal reported that the invitation to become involved in mock trial competitions attracted his interest and support because he was

> ...looking for a way to make the curriculum challenging and interesting and saw this as a way to enrich the curriculum and give a schoolwide activity to pull kids together in a common effort. Second, I serve as a judge, disciplinarian, and this was a way for kids to see how their behavior impacts others.

From the beginning, then, the mock trial competition was predicated upon an appeal to educational needs as teachers and principals saw them. Like other components, it began small, starting with volunteers to whom it appealed. Again, the social studies coordinator was at the center. He used district principals' meetings and personal contacts with teachers and principals to recruit participants. His credibility and promises of coordination through the central office reduced opposition. Materials and training were provided, with one of the local high school LRE teachers playing a major role in encouraging others to become involved.

Perhaps the key factor in getting all of the junior and senior high schools and 24 elementary schools in the district involved has been the event's high visibility. While students could learn the same skills and content in a classroom mock trial, the county-wide competition showcases the activity, making it special. One principal described why he and his staff are involved:

> People do it because I go to a conference and see how excited the kids are and realize throughout all of that it's a good learning experience. Not as good as could be, but it's worthwhile. I like the camaraderie between kids – we all have to pull together – and the pride and sense of accomplishment – its impact on kids.

Educational soundness was not the only motivation to participate, however. Because of the showcase nature of the event, it attracts press coverage and parental attention. One elementary specialist observed:

> Parents are very supportive, and in a couple of schools that has been the spark that has gotten things going, in that parents have come and said such and such a school is doing mock trials. Is this school going to be involved? And that's sort of gotten the principal going. I still see parents who had been to elementary mock trials and still remember it, still think about it, and have volunteered and said, "if you ever need any extra help, please call me." The impact of community varies with principals and schools. Some are more responsive than others. Parents have more of a say in what goes on in some schools than in others.

It is important to note the constructive competitive dimension in this statement. Principals want their schools to do what other schools are doing. They want the publicity and the awareness of board members and central office administrators that they are involved.

There was almost universal description of the law conference and its mock trial and moot court competitions and student debates as an institutionalized event that would continue regardless of personnel changes. One teacher explained this by saying, "Kids love to perform, parents love to watch kids perform, and the district looks good."

However, a careful analysis of the law conference program compared to LRE classes or infusion activities suggests that other factors also account for its success. First is the publicity, which benefits the district, school, principal, and staff. Second, while the competition requires a substantial time investment, as a single highly visible event, it is not as demanding as the rigors of conducting a high quality LRE program for 180 days. The payoff is high for the amount of effort involved. Third, the competition is not crowding something else out of the curriculum. Fourth, high school teachers are paid a modest amount, although less than coaches of sports teams, for their effort; junior high and elementary teachers are not reimbursed. Finally, most of the logistics of putting the competition together are handled by central office personnel.

The ease of participation should not be overlooked. One supportive principal remarked, "Whether it survives depends on if high school people do it [provide coaches for elementary students] and if [social studies coordinator] and _____ [elementary specialist] can coordinate it....If left to teachers, it breaks down. It needs support and coordination." Although everyone agrees the program is beneficial, there is still some question about its survivability if coordination through the central office ceases; that is a possibility, as the elementary specialist may be reassigned to the classroom. It is also important to note that the event's high visibility and the resources accorded to LRE have not generated antagonism. The social studies coordinator averted animosities by providing an opportunity and support for all who were interested.

Although the mock trial program has generated strong support within both the educational and wider communities and has increased staff involvement, there is little evidence that this support has generalized to the curricular level. Some of the lawyers who served as coaches have exhibited greater interest in doing classroom presentations, but new teachers have not started LRE courses or units as a result of their participation. This suggests that while high visibility events may increase public and professional awareness of and support for some aspects of LRE, a means for translating that support into general programmatic support is needed.

Discussion

Although the secondary elective course seems to be operating well in most schools, some elementary teachers are infusing some LRE, some secondary teachers—especially government teachers—are infusing LRE, and extra-curricular LRE programs are well supported, most respondents felt that LRE as a whole was still not a permanent feature of the school district. Most did agree that the high-visibility events would continue because they had such widespread community, administrative, staff, and student support and because the invested effort paid handsome dividends.

In curricular areas, the picture was not as promising. There had not been an inservice program in LRE for several years. Secondary teachers who had been teaching the course for extended periods felt a need for renewal, while some instructors who had never been trained were teaching the course with less than desirable results. In many schools where one instructor made LRE "a labor of love," other department members showed little interest in teaching the course or were excluded in deference to the "LRE super star." To some extent, the central office sought to address these issues by indicating a preference for hiring new teachers interested in LRE.

A second problem area is infusion. While infusion problems are present at both the elementary and secondary levels, elementary and government teachers seem the best prospects for improving

the situation. Both groups see a natural fit between LRE and their objectives, but both suffer intense time pressures. Successful infusion requires a clear mandate supported by materials and training; training should show how and where to infuse LRE, as well as what to delete.

While highly visible events such as the mock trial competitions can be effective in energizing the legal and general communities and in creating awareness of LRE among educators, care must be exercised that these events do not become the LRE program. They can serve as inducements to expanded participation in LRE, but only if there are funds for materials and training.

Capital City's experience suggests some of the strengths and weaknesses of an elective and infusion LRE program. While LRE is certainly a popular course, other popular courses have come and gone depending upon the interest and quality of the instructional staff. Without a required course or systemwide infusion into required courses, many students may never have the benefits of LRE. While the social studies coordinator recognizes these issues, the breadth of his responsibility coupled with extremely limited resources has prohibited him from taking the steps to translate the support generated by the competitive events into a carefully sequenced LRE standard that runs K-12.

The problem of decreasing funding for education also diverted energy from the citizenship/law-related education center. Several observers commented that the constant scramble for money—writing proposals, scanning the *Federal Register*, tuning into the LRE network to learn who has money and how they're spending it—tended to "diffuse" the focus of project staff. While there was no visible sign that this had occurred within Capital City, given the ad hoc nature of the program's development and the winding course from one grant to another, it seems likely that the lack of an ongoing pool of money to maintain the LRE program has detracted from the time and energy staff members had to devote to the program.

This finding suggests that preliminary planning should not only look at short-term issues—initial training, building a political base, curriculum, generating enthusiasm, and similar topics—but also long-term issues. One of these is the securing of permanent funding for program maintenance—periodic staff development, program refinement, and incorporation of additional program components. It is highly desirable that LRE become part of the text and curriculum revision cycles; these are line-item expenses for all courses. Like other systems, schools are subject to entropy; unless external energy is periodically injected into the system, it tends to degenerate.

The experience of Capital City is clearly instructive regarding the issue of mandating. There was general consensus that mandating a separate LRE course would not work. Politically, it would provoke opposition from advocates of such other educational movements as ethnic studies or global education; even if the mandate were achieved, the political fallout could be fatal to LRE. Elective programs and opportunities for student exploration would also diminish significantly if LRE were mandated. Finally, there was a general perception that mandating would reduce the overall quality of LRE because teachers with no interest in the subject would be forced to teach it.

Conversely, there was almost universal agreement that the only way to guarantee that LRE would happen was to mandate it, at either the district or state level. This argument is strengthened by perceptions in a neighboring district that has mandated LRE. Staff in that district feel much more strongly that LRE is in the district permanently than do staff in Capital City.

The benefits and costs of mandating might be balanced by maintaining LRE as an elective course while mandating the systematic inclusion of LRE objectives as part of a K-12 citizenship strand emphasized in civics and government courses. However, infusing a large amount of LRE into civics and government will not work unless these are full-year courses, since these teachers already complain that they cannot cover what they feel is essential content in a semester.

Having provided a description of the evolution of the LRE program in Capital City and an analysis of some of the factors that impeded or facilitated its gradual incorporation into the curriculum, it is fitting that this case study conclude with statements by Capital City staff members regarding the degree to which LRE is institutionalized in their system:

> LRE will be here, but the level is hard to say. If I go back to the classroom, the elementary mock trial competition may not happen. The social studies coordinator can't do it all. If the social studies coordinator and I weren't here and a different social studies person were here, the emphasis might change. If not for _____ at the high school...if he left, the high school program wouldn't be as strong. Short of an LRE mandate, you can't guarantee it. It's an effort to keep the units we have. There's no room in the curriculum. It's a struggle to keep what we have and there's not room to add any more and there's lots of pressure to do X, Y, or Z. As soon as you require X, others demand their areas too.
>
> _____'s [a leader in the local bar association] involvement encourages continuation [of the mock trial competition]. There are external forces that want to see it, and they'd be alienated if it died. It motivates kids, and kids want it and expect it. There's the pressure of "good schools do it," so others have to join. Parents pressure the district and the district pressures the schools.
>
> Institutionalization has happened in American government. Many teachers wouldn't see it as LRE, but they do it.
>
> There's a danger it might not. Depends on who replaces the social studies coordinator if he goes. Someone, LRE teacher or chairs, would have to persuade the new coordinator to do LRE. Declining enrollment cuts electives. If we cut teacher X, LRE is gone. We need to spread LRE responsibility across the department. We need broad support; strong verbal community support. _____ high school couldn't drop it because of parents' and kids' expectations. Expectations will sustain it for a year, but if the administration rides it out, it's gone. We need a mandate.
>
> If a course is not taught for a while, the materials become outdated and it's too costly to revive it. To keep LRE, you need to have your best teachers to teach it. That makes it popular. Make that sucker so damned popular, it's like attacking motherhood and apple pie. If that person left, it's like saying that the course is the course – it becomes bigger than the personality teaching it. Second, you need support from the legal profession both on an advisory board and in the classroom. Finally, you need a state or district mandate; _____ district did this. But it impacts the electives if you seek a mandate; also it may create departmental ill will with other specialists.
>
> It will dribble away unless there's commitment to fund and support and train. The social studies coordinator has tried to fly it with bandaids and bubblegum. He hasn't had a lot of support. The superintendent must say, "I'll give release time, transportation, etc." You need the superintendent, or assistant superintendent, or board to get it expanded and you need elementary principals, and right now all elementary principals don't support it. We need to make it part of the curriculum – so important that it comes from the top. We've seen an endless stream of add-ons and therefore reject this one. We need a philosophical change to explain why this is important.

An elementary teacher from a neighboring district observed:

No, it depends on _____ at the high school. If he's there, it will continue at the senior high school. Someone must be responsible for it; it could be a group, but there must be a support system behind them. District-level support is needed. _____ School District is far ahead of us; we need to do what they've done. The program is not districtwide and I don't see a district commitment for making it. The programs are there, but support is too thin to do LRE. If you want it, you need to staff it. If it's so important, why not do K-12? We need a K-12 program and we don't have it – nothing before 12th. There are some elementary units, but I don't know who is doing what. There's no continuity.

CASE STUDY: SMALLTOWN

Demographics

Smalltown (population 6,500), like many other rural communities in the United States, is not as isolated from the influences of urban areas as once was the case. The economic base of the community continues to shift from farming to light industry. The largest employer manufactures modular furniture. Many residents commute 50 to 60 miles a day to work in offices and factories in a neighboring state.

A diversity of backgrounds are represented in the community. Some members of the black community (15 percent) trace their roots to ancestors who arrived in the area on the underground railroad, while others have migrated more recently from nearby major industrial cities. They join migrants from Appalachia and affluent retirees from throughout the Midwest. In many ways, Smalltown is a microcosm of a large city. The town's identity is maintained by several civic organizations, a daily newspaper, and a local radio station.

Many of the vices (drugs, gambling, prostitution) that rural folks hoped to avoid by staying away from the cities can now be found in Smalltown. Awareness of social problems in Smalltown is one of the reasons that the community feels a sense of duty to contribute to helping their youth understand the law. Leaders in the community are proud to have a role in the school program that, in the opinion of the police chief and other law enforcement officers, effectively reduces juvenile delinquency.

The school district is comprised of one high school, one middle school, and six elementary schools serving approximately 3,300 students. Approximately 60 percent of the graduates pursue formal education after high school; about 20 percent pursue technical programs at the local community college, and the others enter state universities and prestigious private colleges throughout the country.

Current LRE Program

Currently, the LRE program in Smalltown is offered through a required ninth-grade single-semester course. This course has been recently restructured from a tenth-grade elective course. During the transition, eight members of the social studies department are currently teaching or have taught the course.

A four-page syllabus guides teachers in implementation of the course. Goals, philosophy, materials, methods, participation activities, and homework suggestions are outlined in the document. *Street Law*, *Civil Justice*, and *Criminal Justice* as well as several types of supplementary and state-related materials are used in the program. All students are offered, and most accept, the opportunity to participate in a three- to five-hour police ride-along.

Leadership for the program comes from the assistant superintendent (the originator of a mini-unit on law in 1973) and a lead LRE teacher with a background in criminal justice and 11 years' teaching in Smalltown. The Smalltown school and this leadership team have received state and national recognition for the law program at Smalltown.

While attention is currently focusing on ways to implement law into the elementary and middle school curriculum, no formal programs currently exist below ninth grade. Enhancement of the required course comes through electives, Law II and Law III, in which upperclass students (grades 10-12) complete internships, do field work, and pursue independent study. One example of an out-of-school internship is working in the county prosecutor's office, where students learn to write

simple briefs, do legal research, and assist with the victim witness program. Law units adapted from the regular curriculum are also provided through the self-contained special education classes.

Some graduates of Smalltown pursue careers in law-related fields. Today many former law students are successful attorneys, police officers, and court reporters.

Program Development: Awareness and Adoption

Law-related education eased into the core curriculum of Smalltown high school over a period of several years. A specific phase of awareness and adoption is difficult to isolate because the educational change process was far less structured than in larger districts. Today, a curriculum board reviews all changes and additions. In Smalltown, as in many rural districts successful innovation is usually dependent on the initiative of individual teachers, personal relationships, and informal agreements. In this educational environment, innovations are less likely to be committed to paper and more likely to reflect an understanding of community expectations as they are expressed to educators in coffee shops and at church meetings. Educators can often respond more effectively and efficiently to perceived needs because decisions are less likely to be made through a bureaucracy. Change often requires less money, less formal assessment, and fewer meetings.

Particularly in the 1970s when LRE first entered the picture, curricular change was teacher-initiated and teacher-driven. Because there is only one high school, a decision made by a single teacher about a particular course could significantly shape the district curriculum. According to the high school principal, "LRE, like many other successful programs, has been nurtured by two strong educators who care, who see something for themselves, for the students, and for the community. Like others who want a new program, they started small and built on needs as they were evident at a particular time."

This case study summarizes 15 years of effort to institutionalize law-related education. It is the story of highly credible educators utilizing a wide range of educational and political skills in both school and community settings to establish a highly respected and awarded LRE program. As with many other innovations, these LRE educators set and achieved many small goals during the evolution of the program as opposed to designing and following a grand master plan. Evidence of their ability to adapt LRE to changing educational expectations is documented by the fact that a course that was incubated in the loose textless structure of the early 1970s has emerged as a required semester course with syllabus and board-approved policies and materials in the 1980s.

LRE was introduced in 1973 during a climate of curricular experimentation. Because students had a great deal of freedom to select offerings from a smorgasbord of electives, their interests had a strong influence on the shape of the curriculum. Teachers worked to make courses both relevant to the societal concerns of the time and appealing to students. Sometimes, for a new teacher, the ability to sell yourself and your course to students was necessary to develop an assignment that you enjoyed or to maintain enrollment in your department.

In the 1970s, mini-courses were a widely accepted way of bringing new ideas into the Smalltown curriculum in all content areas. During his first year in the classroom, the political science teacher (current assistant superintendent) was looking for ways to make his government class more interesting. He had great latitude and responsibility to design curriculum and select supplementary materials. Because he was thinking of entering law school at the time, collecting materials and resources about legal issues and questions matched a personal interest as well as a professional need. The materials and speakers that he found were used successfully in his government class. The initial focus of the law unit could be described as black-letter law; students received information about specific laws that affected their lives. The effort this teacher made to design a law-related

education experience was undertaken with little, if any, knowledge of national curriculum projects or statewide dissemination efforts.

Many of the the other innovations spawned at Smalltown during that period have not enjoyed the same success as the law course. Courses such as woodshop and home economics are having a difficult time holding their enrollments; others have disappeared completely. Aviation, an elective introduced at the same time as law, has maintained a core of interested students and survived the tightening of the curriculum. To a large degree, the law course succeeded where others failed because the innovation demonstrated a capacity to reach many types of students.

Administrative support for law was evident during this awareness phase. The principal at the high school in 1973 took time to share his belief that the government course should be something more than traditional. He quizzed the incumbent teacher about strategies for using the newspaper and other resources to involve students in the study of current policy issues. This principal (now deceased) took a strong advocacy role and is credited for giving support to law studies during the early stages of development: "He offered his support for the class and lobbied successfully with the central administration. Eventually, it turned into a requirement because he promoted it."

In 1975, building upon a positive student response to the law mini-unit, the teacher pulled together materials for a "mini-week" course. This allowed students who were not enrolled in government to intensively investigate law-related concepts for one week. Law vied with such other high-interest topics as photography, ecology, and aviation for student attention. The law course filled quickly, causing the teacher and principal to consider a more formal structure for providing students with an opportunity to study law.

In summary, the mini-course provided LRE with a long incubation period and a safe place for new ideas to be tested. In this structure, change could take place in a less formal manner and without a significant financial investment.

Program Development: Implementation and Evolution

In 1978, law was formalized in the curriculum as a one-semester elective course with departmental and administrative approval. From the beginning, this offering had a strong criminal justice orientation. Enrollment grew from one to eight sections over a three-year period. Expansion was due in large part to student and parental interest. A wide range of students found the law class to be relevant to many of their personal concerns and interests. The course responded to the many "what if" questions that students had about their rights. Adults in the community expressed concern about student behavior. They wanted students to develop into responsible citizens with respect for the law. They disliked hearing youth use such terms as "fuzz" and "pig," so instruction that helped students see law from the perspective of the law enforcement officer as well as that of youth won support. Both adults and students felt that the course was practical – providing a perspective of what life was all about.

Strong Leadership. Much of the credit for the early success of the course goes to the current lead law teacher, who was hired from outside the district to replace the law teacher when he became director of a federal program within the district. Hired primarily to teach history, the recently certified teacher brought background in criminal justice to the department. Like his predecessor, he had a personal interest in law and substantive background, but no awareness of LRE as an area of study with a discrete rationale, strategies, and materials.

The reasons for his success with the course seem to be multifaceted. The energy and enthusiasm that the young teacher showed for teaching a subject he loved had much to do with the popularity of the course in a curriculum dominated by electives. The associate superintendent is

quick to credit this teacher for conceptualizing the course and adding many new and creative dimensions to the curriculum development work that he started.

One key point in the awareness and adoption process for this teacher is what he describes as a "conversion" to LRE:

> LRE found us – the course and the unit existed before we were introduced to the materials and strategies that make LRE happen. In 1979, I taught law like any other social studies class. I made my own materials....Students were bored with lectures. I was fortunate to pick up *Street Law* and CRF's *Criminal Justice* and *Civil Justice*. After I read through the material, I realized that this would be a completely different way to teach. I started using the techniques immediately. The techniques and abundance of materials make LRE. At first the role playing, mock trials, and the like were threatening, but I found out they work.

For this teacher, "picking up" LRE materials was sufficient exposure to help him take the first step in actualizing an educational philosophy that he had been struggling to implement. He thrived in a classroom environment with LRE materials that actively involved students in their own learning. Students who were previously bored were now alert and interested. His new teaching style was also validated by parents, who called to let him know that their children liked coming to school because of his class. LRE materials contained strategies that were consistent with his self-image as a teacher, as well as his beliefs about what social studies should be. The change in his teaching involved taking more time to plan lessons and taking the risk of using lessons that were more student-centered and open-ended.

He received a more in-depth introduction to LRE when a new state LRE coordinator came on board. In addition to finding a wide range of new materials, he learned to use many other strategies – role playing, mock trial, and peer teaching among others. He also learned how to use resource people. Workshops and the state conference have been the most beneficial training experiences for him: "There's a big difference between having resource people come in and lecture and having the same person come in and participate."

The training provided by the state project also provided support for taking risks necessary to implement the interactive strategies that the law teacher felt were the heart of a good LRE program. He observed:

> Those techniques require a teacher to take risks. It becomes very common to see students actively involved with "hands-on learning" activities in an LRE classroom. The primary risk with active learning is that students become so involved in their own learning that you feel you may lose control. I'd rather lose control sometimes and have students involved. With lecture, the only risk is that students won't listen.

Support for implementing LRE strategies was lacking in the social studies department. Some of the lead law teachers' colleagues told him that the enthusiasm that he showed for developing the law course would wear off after a while – "You're just a young kid; you'll be like us eventually." Some department members questioned the use of noisy activities and expressed a belief that the lessons were "micky mouse" rather than important learning. These attitudes did little to suppress his commitment to the new way of teaching. Student enthusiasm and administrative support tempered the skepticism and negativism expressed by some members of the social studies department. In some ways, his critics may have inspired him to work even harder to develop the course he loved. The criticism deepened his personal commitment. Sufficient interest was created among students who had completed his law course to offer an advanced experience, Law II.

Administrative Support. In contrast with the social studies department, the principal nurtured the law elective course in several different ways. Perhaps because of a personal interest in law enforcement, he was instrumental in creating a broader vision for law-related studies. His longtime friendship with the police chief facilitated a flow of information about the law course between school and community. The lead law teacher remembers him fondly: "My first principal was extremely supportive – he took care of administrative problems – went with me to conferences. Without his support, I'm not sure it would have worked. You've got to work with your administrators to get things done." This teacher learned the benefits of regularly informing administrators about the law program (e.g., activities that may be noisy, community members who will be visiting). As a result, the principal was more informed about the law program than other social studies courses.

In 1980, the principal worked behind the scenes to pave the way for the lead law teacher's request for a police ride-along program. His role was purposely detached. He was not the person who wrote the proposal for the program, nor did he accompany the teacher for discussion with the police chief. He was, however, available for answering questions posed by the city council and for solving logistical and liability problems as they were posed. His credibility with community "gatekeepers" was an important asset.

The tradition of a supportive principal continues today. The current principal is knowledgeable about the program. He finds funds to send teachers to conferences, and he has developed a working relationship with the community resource people. He commented, "Law is just a regular part of our curriculum. We don't look at it as being that innovative any more. There are X dollars in the budget and LRE gets its share. It's one of 150 courses and has no special needs." From the funding perspective, therefore, LRE is institutionalized.

Furthermore, the principal believes that the course has a positive influence on the school environment. For example, he sees fewer problems with alcohol at school events. If he were to move to a school that did not have a law program, the concept of LRE would be one that he would initiate.

Collegiality. Other forms of support were also forthcoming in the formative stages of the innovation. In 1981, the first law teacher decided to return to the classroom. Initially, the younger teacher felt threatened by this move because he learned that he would be sharing the law classes. He felt somewhat protective of the assignment, since he had built enrollment in the elective course singlehandedly. Fortunately, the tension over the shared assignment was short-lived. The returning teacher expressed a great deal of respect for the course that the new teacher had developed, indicating that he wanted to adopt many of the ideas incorporated in the course. He also offered skills that complemented those of the newer teacher. They built upon their different personalities: "I had ideas, he would organize them. We would plan together. I can't say enough good about the things that happened to the program when he joined me." The collaboration was beneficial to the program. By 1983, all but 60 of the tenth-graders were electing law. The original law teacher moved on to a central office position but continued to look for ways to maintain and build the program.

Special Events. The development of a community-based component for the course has also contributed to the institutionalization of LRE in Smalltown. In 1980, the lead law teacher approached his principal with the idea of having students experience a police ride-along to see law from the perspective of the law enforcement officer. The principal encouraged him to present the idea to the police chief.

The chief enjoys telling the story of how he was sold on the idea of the ride along:

> _____ came to me and said he had an idea – "You may think I've lost my senses, but please hear me out." Then he explained the program, including the goals and objectives. I couldn't imagine selling this to the city council because of the liability. I

> also thought it would be hard to sell it to the officers. I couldn't conceive of the officers relinquishing what they have – their bond. But I thought about it for a couple of days and I could see the positive things – particularly the opportunity to change the image of what we are and how we are perceived by the public at large.

Once convinced, the chief worked to sell the program to his officers. From his perspective, the community aspect of the program has importance far beyond the few hours of time that each student spends with the police officers. In his opinion, the police ride-along has changed the image of the police throughout the community:

> I could see negative attitudes disappear and trust develop. Police officers who were initially skeptical that students would learn the secrets of the department and use that information to subvert the law changed their minds. They started sharing more information with the students and giving them more opportunity to use equipment and learn terminology. The experiences of participating students have influenced parents and siblings as well.

The lead law teacher played an instrumental role in establishing and maintaining this community-based component. To begin with, he always refers to "our" program. As with other aspects of the program, the ride-along started on a limited basis. At first, the law teacher sent only his best students to ride with the police. Gradually, the program expanded until as many as 200 students participated in the ride-along in a semester. Today, most of the students volunteer to spend an evening on the ride-along. The following day, their experiences are discussed in class without mentioning names of people involved in police investigation.

Maintenance of the Smalltown LRE program has required the application of the same political and educational skills used to set up the program. Educators continue to approach gatekeepers, cultivate new relationships, and promote community involvement in the law program. The lead law teacher seeks suggestions from resource people, drops in at the police station to thank officers, and gives them feedback about how the experience has helped his students. The success of the ride-along has been built on attention to maintaining these positive relationships.

The police department considers the program institutionalized as long as they have a liaison from the school to coordinate. The police officers' personal commitment can be measured in part by the number of dinners that they purchase for students who ride with them. Students reciprocate with a party at the end of the year.

The degree to which these relationships are valued and maintained by other members of the department or the school system is difficult to measure. The lead law teacher receives no compensation or school time for his coordination efforts. At least one teacher in the department expressed appreciation for the effort that the lead teacher puts into this aspect of the program. She worries about who will fill this role if he should ever leave.

The ride-along is a high visibility event that has helped to build community support for the law program. The community in general has a better sense of the role of law in the community. The educational value of the course was reflected in the comments of many adults, who indicated to the teacher or the police chief that they would like to participate in some of the student experiences – particularly the ride-along. Students eagerly share information that they have gained and raise questions for adults to consider as dinner table conversation, in their work situations, and with their siblings. The community as a whole has benefited from hearing what students think about the law as they have seen it from the police car.

Additional Community Support. In the early phase, the police chief often referred to the positive experiences that his officers were having with students when he made presentations at civic group meetings; the local paper covered the ride-alongs and other related activities. Soon, other members of the legal community expressed interest in participating in the school law program. As a local attorney explained: "In a small community it's easy to know who to go to." While the local bar doesn't have any formal relationship with the schools, there are personal relationships to build upon.

The local attorney quoted above thinks a strength of the program is that the learning about the law is not just adult to student – it's a two-way street. The professionals learn from the students as well as parents. She mentioned the police chief in particular: "He has moved from a conservative point of distrust to seeing that information about the law will not encourage law-breaking." She personally values the opportunity to learn from the questions that students ask in the classroom and in field experiences. The discussion keeps her in touch with the needs of the community.

Members of the law and education communities strongly believe that the program has prevented juvenile delinquency. This belief is supported by the police chief's statement that juvenile crime, even traffic offenses, has decreased dramatically since the program was implemented: "One thousand students have been through this program and, to my knowledge, not one has been involved in a criminal act. The students may not even realize their behavior is changed." School officials have seen more respect for school rules as a result of the ride-along. The school disciplinary code is used in the law course to translate what students learn about due process in the community setting into the school environment.

Transition to Required Course. In 1984, student interest and community support for the program caused administrators and policy-makers to consider law as a required course. "Everything was right" for making the transition to a required course. By this time, "the community not only accepted it, they expected it." Parents consistently expressed their positive feelings about the program to educators and policy-makers. The high percentage of students already electing law was evidence that the course was responsive to student needs. Policy level support came from board members – two attorneys and a police officer who had direct experience with the program.

Further support for the requirement came from the state department of education. New social studies guidelines recommended a high school law course as an alternative for the citizenship requirement. The state was also considering the feasibility of testing students for citizenship skills on the ninth-grade competency test. Law teachers at Smalltown analyzed this information and developed recommendations for a one-semester law requirement at the ninth-grade level. The added semester course in law raised the social studies requirement to three and a half credits – more than any other subject area.

The law course became a requirement outside the established process. The high school principal carried the proposal directly to the board. The recommendation for change did not go through the established curriculum committee, nor was it approved by the chairman of the social studies department. The educators interested in law decided to circumvent the formal process primarily out of concern that a proposal for mandating law might be treated harshly by traditional teachers on the curriculum committee, who were openly critical of the course. They relied on the strong mandate expressed by the community to make the case for providing law for all students.

Lack of ownership of the course by the social studies department did not impede the development or approval of the innovation, but lack of ownership and disgruntlement with the adoption process have limited the success of institutionalization of the required course. The social studies department chair still resents the end-run approval process: "The program was created outside my

responsibilities. The department wasn't interested. The program was created from the top down and the outside in....The way that law was introduced at the time wouldn't happen now."

While the department chair did not participate in developing the recommendation, he did not formally oppose the move for a required ninth-grade course because, in his words, "I'm not stupid – the requirement makes jobs for social studies teachers." The curricular change also had some benefits for him personally. World history became a tenth-grade course – allowing him to teach his favorite course to more mature students.

With the advent of the required course, the innovation took on new complexity. Some issues, such as training, were anticipated and addressed with a great deal of thought and planning. Other issues were noted and addressed as they appeared. These included such factors as (1) negative student attitudes – many tenth-grade students elected law because of its reputation of an interesting class; in contrast, ninth-grade students had not heard of the class and were not taking it by choice; (2) curricular fit – material used successfully with tenth graders (particularly *Street Law*) was difficult for some ninth-grade students, and (3) ability grouping for law classes – since students were grouped by ability in required courses, the law classes were grouped as well, contrary to LRE research that warns against labeling students.

Each of these constraints is being studied, and adaptations are being made. The most critical issue related to requiring law seems to be ability grouping. The lead law teacher has noted a distinct change in the classroom climate now that he has a group of students grouped by academic achievement. He misses the interaction among students of different abilities and perspectives and expresses concern that grouping students for LRE may actually be contributing to negative attitudes toward law. Part of the problem is that once law became a required course, it was treated differently by the administrators who schedule students. Since law courses now "back up" to other required courses in which students are grouped, they come to law in these same groups. To hetrogeneously group students for one semester and homogenously group them for the second is inconvenient to those who plan the master schedule and philosophically questioned by those who like teaching students of the same ability. The lead law teacher is working with his principal to improve this situation for the coming year.

Training and Follow-up. When law became a required course, training became a priority issue. Several teachers unfamiliar with law-related education would be teaching this course for the first time. Up to this point, the course had been nurtured by teachers with strong content backgrounds and a personal commitment to making LRE a quality experience. As one teacher stated her reaction to the news that she would be teaching law, "All I knew about the course as a world cultures teacher was that ___ taught law. I didn't worry about it because I didn't teach it. When I found out that I had to teach it, I became hysterical. I panicked. I didn't want to teach it and fought it all the way."

The training that was planned for this teacher and other members of a maturing and somewhat tradition-bound department drew upon the resources and expertise of national, state, and local organizations. The local leaders recognized that they could not do it all; there was a need for outside experts to come in. Several types of training events were conducted with the somewhat mixed results that are described below.

At the time the need for training became particularly evident, the district was one of the ten sites participating in the OJJDP host site program. The associate superintendent and lead law teacher drew from this common training experience, a state trainer-of-trainers seminar, to design several opportunities for introducing others to LRE. The training of trainers was particularly valuable in preparing them for this task. During the seminar they had time to share issues, ideas, and concerns with LRE leaders from other districts. They also enjoyed an opportunity to learn from Lee Arbetman, an

author of one of their texts. Discussions about the strategic placement of activities on the agenda (e.g., teasers to keep people on their toes after lunch) was very useful.

The pair of trainers had been using law-related strategies long enough that they had more ideas for a day of local training than would fit on the agenda. Working with this set of ideas, they developed a one-day inservice that would have people doing things that they would later be doing in their classrooms. Interactive strategies and use of resource people were presented as keys to successful LRE. The state law project director provided suggestions and a display of resources and made arrangements for Lee Arbetman to be a featured presenter at one of the local trainings. Local inservice has been provided for three years to train new teachers and update those with experience.

Participants gave high ratings to the inservice but did not necessarily make the expected changes in their classes. One of the barriers for many is that the techniques modeled were inconsistent with their teaching style and with the beliefs they have about their role in the classroom. In spite of the quality of a one-day inservice, teachers may leave with many insecurities and unfulfilled needs. For some, the risks of establishing a learning environment that veers from the format with which they are comfortable are too great. Some feared that they will lose control of the classroom. Others seemed to think extra preparation would not result in any advantage for them or their students. One teacher indicated that she would quickly seize the opportunity for more training, since LRE was refreshing and exciting.

The program leaders were sensitive to the fact that the program needed to be more than the _____ and _____ show, so they involved others in presenting sessions. One year, 11 people from Smalltown attended the state LRE public/private partnership conference. This training event provided an opportunity for addressing both instructional and political issues. Ownership of the program was enhanced through a panel presentation at the state conference by the police chief, principal, school board member, and teachers. The opportunity to tell others the story of LRE in Smalltown was very satisfying for the team of people who participated. As a result, many other school districts have contacted Smalltown for more information.

Some teachers from Smalltown were more cynical about the conference: "I've been to so many conferences and they are all the same...after a while you feel you have been propagandized." For another department member who was attending the conference for the first time, however, the training changed her perception from "I have to know the law to teach it" to "I *do* know the law and I didn't realize it. You don't have to be a lawyer or a judge to teach about the law." Her confidence as an LRE teacher changed dramatically as a result of this training conference. She actually credits LRE with revitalizing her interest in teaching.

The difference in experience that two department members had at the same training is explained primarily by the mindset that they took to the experience. The illustration may suggest that not everyone should be trained or expected to adopt LRE strategies in their classrooms. Based on the Smalltown experience, perhaps more time should be spent giving in-depth experiences to those who are receptive rather than trying to give some training to everyone.

A third type of training that was available to teachers was that provided by the lead law teacher within the building. He works to help in several ways. Some of his efforts can best be described as "hand-holding." He lets people know where resources are located, helps them adapt the materials to the ninth-grade level, listens to concerns about lessons that did not go well, offers encouragement to try some of the more risky activities. He also fills the role of coordinator as well as coach. In addition to serving as a liaison for the police ride-along program for other teachers, he also lets them know when resource people will be coming to the building and offers to make arrangements for speakers for teachers who do not know the community as well as he does.

Law teachers rely on this teacher to coordinate the program even though the work is not formalized in a job description or assignment. The role has evolved through teacher interest and initiative. If he were to leave, it is unlikely that anyone currently teaching law would have the interest, skill, or contacts to step into his shoes – particularly since much of the work is done as a labor of love on a voluntary basis.

Role of the State Project. Smalltown's capacity to undertake each type of training described above has been greatly enhanced by the state LRE project and its director. The $1,000 mini-grants provided through the state project were the starting point for many of the positive changes in Smalltown's capacity to build and maintain a quality program. This small amount of money provided good public relations for LRE in the community and helped the program leaders sell their training plans to policy-makers. The grant created excitement about the possibilities for innovation and created a context for the leaders to talk with others about past accomplishments and future directions. The leadership training and state conference provided credibility and exposure.

The state LRE coordinator has been an important role model for the Smalltown leaders:

> A dynamic hardworking, energetic state director is a necessity. Our state director has a tremendous amount of energy and a strong work ethic. She follows through and builds confidence. She has helped with all levels of our planning and training. She has taken the cause of LRE to people at the state level as well as written letters to help a teacher get release time or administrative support. She is willing to say she doesn't have all the answers – she wants others to contribute. An insecure person would think they have to do everything for themselves.

The lead law teacher points to another important quality of the state director – she is a role model for training other teachers: "I watch her, and take notes."

Thus, the state project has served as a valuable link for a small and somewhat isolated community. In turn, staff in Smalltown have been able to provide support for her and for others in their region. One of the most important outcomes is the sense of ownership that Smalltown feels for the state project. They feel that they have played an important role in making LRE happen beyond their community. At the first meeting that the Smalltown leaders attended, the associate superintendent remembers thinking to himself, "There are 40 or 50 people here who are actually teaching law – maybe we can develop something. The next year the project began to grow." Smalltown was pleased to be in on the initial phase of the state project. Through the project, Smalltown knows what is going on elsewhere and has an opportunity to showcase their exemplary program.

The state model for assisting school districts with institutionalization has been replicated as a regional project by several districts in the area under the leadership of the Smalltown team. Interested people from 13 districts in three counties now work together through an association designed to encourage mutual aid and to provide a range of services and training activities that it is difficult for rural schools to complete in isolation. This network of law enforcement officers, teachers, and attorneys has created a directory of resource people, planned conferences, and met occasionally to share ideas. Next year five counties will participate, with as many as 100 teachers attending the conference. Veteran teachers are being rejuvenated through their involvement. One goal of this group is to provide opportunities for elementary teachers in a state where law has traditionally been a high school experience.

Incentives and Motivations for Teachers. Smalltown has received recognition for an outstanding law program within the community, as well as at the state and national levels. The program was featured in a National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, and the lead law teacher

has received awards from the American Bar Association and the state social studies council. As a result of these awards, inquiries have come in from other schools throughout the country.

The principal takes pride in the way his school is reflected through these awards and confirms the perception of those who give awards that such recognition has a positive programmatic impact: "When people get compliments, it makes a difference." The lead law teacher agrees: "It makes me want to come to school...it has led to other job offers, it has made me want to do more. It's the recognition from the community that matters the most. When parents call to say that the family talks about what goes on in law class over dinner, you know you are getting through." Based on his own experience in receiving recognition, he has encouraged local civic groups to give awards to others.

Perhaps the recognition partially explains the reasons that the lead law teacher is willing to spend a great deal of time outside the classroom promoting LRE. He has taken on a leadership role in the regional law project modeled after and supported by the state project.

Another explanation for his investment in the regional project is that, through this effort, he enjoys a sense of collegiality that is missing within his own department. His explanation for making a personal commitment is that "I see this as part of my teaching job...I like promoting LRE. I see this as my baby. If I teach somewhere else or become an administrator, this will continue to be an interest of mine." Based on this teacher's experience, there seems to be a high correlation between the intensity of involvement with LRE and a strengthened commitment to the innovation.

Dissension Within the Department. The recognition that has come to Smalltown and the lead law teacher, coupled with the department conflict over the process by which law became a requirement, has created a somewhat uncertain future for the program. Issues of seniority and turf complicate the issue. The professional jealousy and resentments that exist within the social studies program must be addressed if the program is to maintain its viability. Fortunately, the lead law teacher seems at ease dealing with the turmoil that exists over the role of law within the social studies department. He has listened to concerns and expresses tolerance for those who do not share his vision.

Clearly, the lead teacher has a strong philosophy about LRE that conforms to the rationales and definitions found in the literature and in the national projects' materials and training efforts. Unfortunately, this philosophy is not widely shared by the department, and lack of consensus about both content and methodology makes the future of the program uncertain. Disagreement comes not from beliefs about the importance of students understanding law but rather *how* it should be taught and what content should be emphasized. The negativism, which is most openly expressed by the department chair, stems from two distinct issues. One is the professional jealousy and resentment that result from the high visibility of LRE. The other springs from a sincere belief about what a good social studies program should look like. The department chair is actively working to restructure the program to fit his ideal scope and sequence; he thinks law should be a a less obvious component within a citizenship program.

He states his lack of ownership directly: "The department wasn't interested. The way law happened wouldn't happen now. Everyone in the department has taught law – that's why there's so much opposition to it. They won't own the course the way it is now." Exactly how much of the opposition has been created by this leader, how much springs from teachers' own beliefs, and how much is simply overstated by the department chair is unclear. It is a fact that he has assigned traditional teachers who share his view to the law classes over those who express an interest in teaching the course. He believes the notoriety that the law program has received detracts from other equally valuable social studies programs.

The principal sees the problem this way: "There's an element of jealousy. The department chairperson thinks he is an excellent teacher – would put himself above others. He has not received the recognition – but he's not doing an innovative program." The principal recognizes that if the lead law teacher leaves, the complexion of the course will change. He is concerned that no one else feels the ownership of the course, and he knows that teachers are "skipping some topics" because they don't know enough.

The criticism that springs from the department chair's beliefs about good social studies is most difficult to analyze. Part of the problem is that many of the concerns as they are expressed are based on *misperception* about what is known in the field and what is happening in Smalltown (e.g., "There are few real abstractions in the law program," "Most of what's important about law can be taught in a four-week unit in civics – the rest is froth," "The Smalltown program is designed to promote the police officer in the classroom rather than citizenship education," "It's a required class because the principal promoted it"). He also perceives undue influence of the community on the social studies program ("Lawyers and law enforcement are pressing too hard"). These generalizations are not supported with evidence, but they do contribute to a climate of distrust within the department.

Other disparaging statements about law are rooted in this teacher's closely held beliefs about teaching and the nature of the social studies curriculum. Many of his statements highlight tensions and debates among social studies teachers everywhere. For those districts, such as Smalltown, who choose to require law, the belief systems of the more traditional teachers must be understood and respected. His belief system is reflected in his opinions about LRE materials. He thinks that there is too much LRE material and that much of it puts undue emphasis on legalisms and specific court cases. He would like to see the information packaged so it is useful for social science instead of career education. Since much of what is available is "pap," he would like to see the department sift through what is available and reduce what is used to that which is important.

The chair's opinion on a major text used in the course was expressed as follows: "*Street Law* is a junk book – it's a poorly written social studies book. There's no attempt to go through SQ3R [a study skill technique for students to use in reading narrative text]. I'll be blunt...it's a lawyer's outline. The book does have wonderful little exercises." (The only other department concerns that were expressed about *Street Law* related to problems in using materials written for a high school audience with ninth-grade students.) He prefers the law materials published by Southwest because they conform more closely to his concept of what students should do to learn. Southwest's materials provide for students to work independently, looking up terms and answering questions at the end of a chapter. As a teacher, he has a preference for text materials that are less dependent on interaction for success.

The department chair's proposal for improving the delivery of LRE looks very similar to the way he taught civics in 1972 – with a four-week law unit at the end of the course. He would like to see law become "infused" as a component of a year-long citizenship program. He feels a year-long package of law and civics would eliminate existing overlaps and would have a "social science" approach. The effectiveness of this approach for law is questionable based on his own commitment to infusing law into the history course he teaches. As a 20-year veteran, he has collected many supplementary materials that he likes, but he hasn't "had time" to use LRE materials(*Great Trials, Bill of Rights in Action*) that have been identified for infusion.

One of his concerns that was supported by both resource people and teachers was the need for more emphasis on civil law. A former county prosecutor feels that the students need a better understanding of how various agencies work, about laws related to taxes and family. Others, including the

department chair, want more emphasis on consumer law. Informal discussions about the course are healthy and illustrate that the course has not grown stagnant with the mandate.

Planning for the Future. Some LRE proponents also see benefits to a yearlong course. A member of the department who is attracted to law sees overlaps between the two semesters currently offered, but in contrast to the department chair, she would enlarge the law component and look for ways to use LRE strategies to teach civics. She is currently using LRE lessons designed for the bicentennial celebration to teach about the U.S. Constitution in her civics class.

The lead law teacher now realizes that the department needed to spend more time discussing the distinctions and relationships between law and civics prior to requiring back-to-back semester courses. Those teachers who value the law course are concerned about the lack of consensus about what a good LRE experience should look like. They recognize that the format proposed by the department chair threatens the quality and quantity of law-related education content. With infusion, LRE content and strategies become more optional. In a broadly defined citizenship course, law will compete for attention with other disciplines, particularly economics. The new format would give individual teachers far more autonomy in selecting materials and structuring learning activities. This situation would not be a problem if teachers have a strong commitment to seeing law happen.

The lack of adherence to the LRE prescriptions is already an issue. Based on the standards of the lead law teacher, some of his colleagues are putting minimal effort into the program:

> There are teachers who are not real LRE people teaching it, and that has caused some problems. Students who have these teachers are getting a traditional social studies class, and they are bored to death. Teachers just lecture and give a test. Some students ask these teachers why they can't do the things that are going on in my class. Kids are aware that LRE should be more than content.

Requiring LRE has involved some significant tradeoffs. Even with several types of training, there is a significant decline in quality when teachers who lack commitment to the innovation are asked to teach it. How influential these individuals will be in altering the rationale, objectives, and learning activities of the course is uncertain. Staff development activities to increase commitment and ownership will probably help some teachers and not others. Bringing in a "hot shot" from the middle school who already has the commitment is another option.

There is administrative support for maintaining standards for LRE. The associate superintendent maintains that "to be meaningful, LRE must be activity oriented; it must be more than reading a book or taking a test. As with football, students must practice not just read the play book. Law needs application." Yet, in many classes, law is being implemented without LRE strategies. This dilemma raises the question of whether every teacher should be expected to change. The lead law teacher wonders if LRE was not more successfully implemented as an elective, in which he had more control over the types of experiences students had. He is currently asking himself if the mandate has enhanced the quality of the LRE program at Smalltown: has it been worth compromising the quality of the program to see that every student has some exposure to the content?

Discussion

The leaders in Smalltown have many hard questions to answer as they think about the future of LRE. Will the heart of LRE be lost if they compromise the semester law program for a yearlong citizenship course? Can training and team building improve the quality of the program as it is currently mandated? Who can be recruited to take the leadership role if the lead teacher leaves? How dependent is the coordination of the program on the volunteer time of a teacher? How much will need to be compromised to broaden ownership of the program? As Smalltown discusses and

debates the answers to these questions, they will be on the cutting edge of important institutionalization issues.

The Smalltown experience also offers data for other districts interested in institutionalizing LRE:

Training. What are the costs and benefits of training most social studies teachers in LRE? It may be mistaken to assume that every civics teacher will be effective in teaching law. In Smalltown, much of the resistance among teachers to implementing LRE prescriptions is based on an inherent belief in traditional content and a teacher-centered classroom. To achieve a high-quality program, it may be better to invest resources in training those who are receptive and comfortable with LRE strategies and content.

Leadership. What type of skills do LRE leaders need? The Smalltown case suggests that instructional skills are important but not enough. The institutionalization effort resulted from the careful cultivation of community support. Both administrators and teachers used a wide range of political skills to develop, build, and maintain the program. These same skills will need to be applied within the department if the problems of turf and seniority currently limiting the institutionalization effort are to be solved. Perhaps more time needs to be spent identifying teacher trainers who enjoy this aspect of educational change.

Special events. It appears that the attention paid to the police ride-along in interviews was in greater proportion than the event deserved, since the experience represents only a few hours of student time in a semester-long experience. The interest among everyone in the community in describing this aspect of the program is evidence that such events are important in building community support and student interest.

Mandating LRE. Smalltown provides a good case study for analyzing the costs and benefits of developing a required course in LRE. How much quality has been lost in broadening the course? Is it better to provide every student with some law or to provide most students with a rich, high-quality experience? Can the district make the commitment of resources necessary to solve some of the problems that accompany mandates?

Smalltown concentrated their efforts in developing a single course over several years. Given the effort devoted to developing this highly recognized course, one wonders how effective the program would be if the resources had been spread K-12 instead of concentrated in one grade level.

Advocates of LRE in Smalltown are caught in the middle of a debate about how the social studies should be defined and organized. The lack of consensus in the field and among educational leaders is highlighted in Smalltown. LRE teacher trainers need to be prepared to work with skeptics and think creatively about how quality LRE can be "fit" into whatever patterns of scope and sequence emerge. Their knowledge of instruction and their willingness to fill a leadership role in defining the field will be critical to institutionalization efforts.

CASE STUDY: ELECTRA HEIGHTS

Demographics:

Electra Heights School District includes three upper middle class/middle class suburban communities in a 66-square-mile area. Most of the community's 60,000 residents live comfortably in one of the many subdivisions that reflect the income and lifestyles of auto industry executives and middle-level managers who work in corporate headquarters of large automakers in the city or at one of the many auto-related companies located in nearby industrial parks. Many upper level managers choose to live in Electra Heights not just because of lovely homes (average price $130,000) but also because the schools are among the highest rated in the metropolitan area. Generally speaking, residents are economically secure and optimistic about their future and that of their children. The city's planning offices and the schools are taking advantage of the expanding tax base to improve facilities and services for new residents. Current patterns of population growth indicate that the projections originally made for 2005 will actually be reached by 1997.

Electra Heights School District has a student population nearing 11,000. Students are distributed among ten elementary schools, three middle schools, and two high schools; they serve about 1,700 students each. The school population is 96.3 percent white—a sharp contrast to the mostly minority population of the central city just a 30-minute drive from Electra Heights. The minority school population includes 1.8 percent Asian, 1.3 percent black, .5 percent Hispanic and .1 percent American Indian. A high percentage of students go to college following graduation.

The profile of the 650 teachers in the district is one of experience, stability, and advanced degrees. Teacher turnover comes primarily from the seven to ten retirements that occur each year. Currently, half of the teaching force is between the ages of 36 and 45.

Electra Heights School District has a reputation for providing a solid academic program. Innovations occur primarily because of grassroots initiative rather than coming from the top down. The director of secondary curriculum believes that "Teacher interest is key. You need to start with your staff. Their commitment is the most critical element of making an innovation work." The current superintendent has taken leadership for encouraging more structure and standardization within the curriculum during the past few years, causing some teachers to feel that the curriculum has been "recreated from zero." The interest in standardization comes from a commitment to provide equal opportunities to all students. The district leadership's desire for democratic decision making and large-scale participation has resulted in, at recent count, 157 committees that are working on curriculum and other school improvement issues.

Electra Heights, along with other school districts north and west of the city, belongs to an intermediate unit that provides services to a consortium of member districts. Services in the area of social studies and law-related education have been a strength of the unit since the early 1970s. The state law-related education program is housed there and the current director of curriculum and a senior member of the staff development center have played active roles in developing and maintaining law-related programs.

Current LRE Program

The heart of the current LRE program in Electra Heights is an elective course open to 10th-, 11th-, and 12th-grade students. Teachers also have opportunities for teaching law through infusing LRE concepts and skills into existing social studies courses by using law-related materials to meet course objectives.

Practical Law is a popular elective at both high schools. About 30 percent of the students elect the semesterlong class each year. Reported one interviewee, "It's our most popular social studies elective. Kids really gravitate toward it." At each school, two or three teachers share responsibility for teaching 10 to 11 sections per year. Yet, there are some noticeable differences in the delivery of the program at the two schools.

At Spirit High, one of the two teachers who initiated the course ten years ago plays a leadership role in teaching the course and in organizing the Student Court program, an extra-curricular component. His efforts to provide a quality program are supported by an assistant principal who was a law teacher at Spirit prior to taking the administrative position and by a young teacher who has little formal LRE training but has eagerly adapted many of the lessons and strategies that work for the lead teacher. The course syllabus, organized similarly to that of the *Street Law* program, draws from a variety of materials to meet stated objectives.

The lead teacher's extensive training in social studies methods, particularly moral reasoning, is reflected in an emphasis on group work, debate, and discourse. At Spirit High, the law teachers talk enthusiastically about the goals of law-related education and pay a great deal of attention to how kids learn:

> We're trying to teach citizenship skills, encourage them to participate in a democratic society. If we don't teach some pretty lofty ideals, then how can we have a democratic society? We want these kids to think on a higher level, to reason, to be concerned about such issues as equality and non-discrimination.

Spirit teachers also express a strong commitment to developing a sense of community and encouraging interaction among students of different grade levels and abilities:

> I would hope they learn as much from each other as they learn from me. The kids who are D students in other classes – you ought to see them come alive in here. What ever level they are, they love law. Even though my classroom looks structured, it's a miniature democracy in action. It's a town meeting and I've got to thank law-related education for that. When the class is over, they'll tell you it's the best social studies class they've ever taken. They hate to leave it.

Resource people are used extensively, interacting with students. Such controversial issues as AIDS and homosexuality are analyzed. Criminal law gets more attention than civil law. "Housing and consumer law probably get slighted," says one of the teachers.

The student court at Spirit provides an opportunity for students to learn about law through firsthand experience. For the past eight years, students accused of violating school rules may find themselves in a "court" run by other students instead of the principal's office. School administrators and local lawyers administer the court, in which student judges and juries decide how to handle selected school-related problems.

The law program at Eagle High was added to the curriculum about five years ago. The impetus for adding the course came from parents and school district leaders, who heard positive things about the program at Spirit. At Eagle High, most sections of the course are taught by a business teacher; next semester, a health teacher will teach some law. The remaining sections of the course have been taught by members of the social studies department on a rotating basis.

The Eagle program relies heavily on the services and coordination provided by the head police liaison officer, who is enthusiastic about the program and trained in LRE. His role in the program is lining up speakers and field experiences for the classes. While the syllabus is the same as at Spirit, the students experience more formal presentations of substantive (black-letter) law than do the stu-

dents at Spirit. Says one teacher, "None of us are lawyers, so we rely on community resource people to discuss current cases and points of law that students need to know." An extensive network of resource people speaks to the classes about law-related careers and current legal issues. Speakers range from the prison chaplain to probation officers to magistrates and clerks. News magazines and other types of media are further sources of information about the law.

Law is included at other places in the K-12 curriculum, but it is not required. Social studies teachers have available such supplemental materials as *Great Trials in American History* and *Reasoning with Democratic Values* for use in U.S. history and government and *Law in an International Age* for world history. Use of such materials and law-related themes is optional.

The presence of LRE at the middle and elementary schools is occasional and informal. Publicity about the bicentennial of the Constitution and workshops planned for that event have raised teacher awareness of law as both a topic and an approach at the lower levels. Teachers who have been to workshops are incorporating law into their history and government classes, but not as a separate unit. In some cases such infusing is occurring only because teachers want to do something special for the bicentennial celebration, but teachers and administrators interviewed see strong possibilities for making law a more integral part of the middle and elementary programs.

Program Development: Awareness and Adoption

Law was introduced to the Electra Heights School District in 1979 after two teachers at Spirit High completed two different intensive teacher-training programs advertised through the intermediate unit's offices. As a precondition for the teachers' acceptance in these staff development programs, the school district made a commitment to allow the teachers to try new materials with students. The teachers' training experiences and their experience using the materials are key events in the history of the Electra heights LRE program.

Teacher Training. The teachers enrolled in their respective programs seeking professional renewal; they were not particularly aware of or interested in LRE. "Any time somebody would give me three free credits just for attending class, I jumped at the opportunity – particularly if it would count toward my education specialist degree," said one of the teachers. The other teacher had a somewhat different impetus: "I was looking for something to give new life to my teaching. I went, somewhat reluctantly, because another teacher needed a partner. The focus was the new social studies – I was not particularly interested in law." Each program offered the benefit of university credit at no cost and such other benefits as release time for meetings and opportunities to use new materials.

The program attended by one teacher involved high school teachers and third-year law students coming together for 15 three-hour sessions as part of a law school program to learn substantive law and methodologies for presenting law in high school classrooms. "What I learned on a Monday night," reported this teaacher, "we brought back into the classroom." The "Teaching Practical Law to High School Students" course gave the teacher an in-depth experience with substantive law, an opportunity to work with a third-year law student to plan lessons, and – most importantly in his mind – techniques for teaching law. The training program included experience with moral reasoning dilemmas as well as simulations, role plays, mock trials, and case studies. This teacher summarized the importance of the training as follows:

> The biggest plus I can give is that it's the only social studies class that I've taught where I was specifically trained to teach it. This is vital. I can go back to my own undergraduate career and we can talk about knowledge base, but nothing as far as classroom activities. The research-based activities that we learned in the course

have proven so successful. The activities turned the kids on to law-related education, and I'm talking from low-achievers to high-achievers mixed up together.

The second teacher was one of 14 teachers accepted into a yearlong intensive experience with the new social studies. Teachers were provided a menu of new social studies programs from which to pick an area of emphasis; this teacher decided on law primarily because of his exposure to the *Street Law* text. He recalls:

> Rather than simply reading and answering factual questions, there were applications to situations and problems. The commitment was a day of school and the weekend for 15 weeks. We looked at social studies instruction, lesson design and experienced clinical supervision. It involved making videotapes of classes and of the conference sessions that followed. My fellow teacher and I would give each other feedback. It was a lot of work but very worthwhile.

As a prerequisite to his acceptance in the program, the school district agreed to purchase materials so that the teachers could test ideas presented in the course and then come together periodically to discuss their ideas.

The teacher credits this training with revolutionizing his teaching:

> It was a revitalization and a breath of fresh air in terms of instruction. It required me to do things that are beyond the experience of most classroom teachers...it was different in the sense that it was not new material on an old subject. Furthermore, it hit me at the right time – I was looking for revitalization. It was a letdown when the interaction ended so abruptly. Training needs more follow-through.

This teacher's experience with using new strategies in law caused him to move from lecture and textbooks to teaching in a more open-ended manner: "While it sounds trite, perhaps the most important thing I learned that year was to have a concrete goal, label it, and work toward it throughout the lesson." In contrast to the first teacher's experience, this training lacked a content focus. The teacher reported, "I relied on my background of teaching government and tried staying ahead of the kids."

Thus, awareness about LRE was created by two teachers from the same high school who independently participated in intensive LRE training during the same year. Each teacher had a personal interest in doing something as a result of what they learned during their intensive training. Despite differences in their training experiences, both teachers' interests could be met through an elective law class and both wanted to use *Street Law*. The intensive training that the two teachers received prior to the formal adoption and implementation seems to have been a strong factor in the success of the pilot and in obtaining board approval of an elective course.

Acquiring Building and District Support. Proposals for an elective law course grew from the two teachers' experience piloting the *Street Law* materials that they used in their respective training programs. Said one teacher, "Part of our pitch was – It will cost nothing; let's give it a shot." Both teachers had credibility with their building principal, who was quickly convinced that an elective course would meet many student needs. The principal and curriculum specialists housed at the intermediate unit supported the teachers' proposal for a two-section pilot that would not alter the existing curriculum and worked with them to present their ideas to the school board. The principal stressed that the initiative came from the teachers: "We didn't get in their way." The board accepted the proposal after changing the name of the proposed course from Street Law to Practical Law, a title board members considered more appropriate for the experiences described by the teachers.

Today, the curriculum adoption process is much more structured than was the case when law was introduced into the curriculum. In 1979 the district wanted to see a written plan and materials.

Reported one interviewee: "In those days, we didn't have the money. With the elective course structure dominating the curriculum, we could see that we did not need to pay for training, that an extra teacher would be needed, and that materials for the course were not very costly." When the class quickly grew from two to five sections, the district purchased additional materials.

While there is still a grass-roots approach to testing new ideas through infusion and new elective courses, the director of secondary curriculum points out that the district now has the financial resources to support and structure innovation: "We can buy materials and pay for training." In contrast with 1979, pilot courses must fit within a five-year curricular change process: "Infusion and electives are both acceptable ways for innovations to be tested, but we also need to be concerned with the crowded curriculum. If you want to put something in, you better be prepared to take something out." Review committees of 30 people meet up to 15 times a year to discuss proposed changes and make recommendations to curriculum supervisors and ultimately the board of education: "Altering curriculum is heavy duty...innovations are now coordinated and meetings institutionalized."

Administrators observe, however, that while the decision-making processes have been formalized, there is little enforcement of decisions that are made. This lack of enforcement or monitoring may explain some of the problems that accompanied implementation of the program at the second high school. The adoption of the program at Eagle lacked much of the enthusiasm that was present at Spirit High. The innovation was introduced following a few meetings with Spirit teachers regarding materials, approaches, and resources. The social studies teacher who took the most active role in implementing the program found that he was fighting "traditional attitudes and skepticism from the history people. There were a lot of questions in the department about why add this?" People from both schools are aware of the less-than-ideal circumstances that surrounded the introduction of the course. The spirit of competition that exists between the two schools added to complications of introducing a successful program from one high school into another under mandate and without the intensive training that had sparked interest at the first school.

Program Development: Implementation and Evolution

Many of the components of successful program implementation actually took place in Electra Heights during the awareness/adoption phase. Factors that usually come into play after formal adoption, particularly intensive training and purchase of materials, were addressed prior to the actual implementation. Thus, many of the factors reported here have to do with refining and maintaining the program that was developed during the pilot stage. While there is evidence that top-level administrators in Electra Heights are taking a more active role in curriculum, this trend is not evident in the maintenance or coordination of LRE. Each of the areas discussed below reveals initiative by teachers, building administrators, resource people, and the state LRE project.

Special Events. The addition of the student court component to Spirit High's program in 1980 contributed significantly to the popularity of the course among students at Spirit High and ultimately to the introduction of the course at the second high school. The student court is an extracurricular complement to the law class but is open to all students. Explained one interviewee:

> Students who want to be part of the court must pass a "bar exam" developed by the school to become part of the attorney pool. They can take it as many times as they want. At one time, we had as many as 400 students involved in some way in the court. Practical Law was not a prerequisite for participation. The court has no civil power. It is a criminal court that is concerned with the student code of conduct, such as smoking in an unauthorized area, forgery (of a hall pass), insubordination, or cheating. We just wrote a new cheating statute.

The student court was suggested and funded by the intermediate unit's LRE program coordinator and was enthusiastically received by the law teachers and administrators. One teacher described the perceived need for such a program: "At the time the school was going through some pretty rough times. Tires were being slashed in the parking lot...people were starting fires in the bathrooms, lighting trash cans on fire...there were all kinds of reports of vandalism." The teacher's perceptions are collaborated by the assistant principal (current middle school vice principal), who played a major role in implementing this component of the law program:

> Even though a rather limited number of students were involved in the court as lawyers, judges, or jurors, the impact spread across the entire building. Students considered rules and rule-breaking more thoughtfully. The most common remark was "Hey, I don't want to go to court." So there was a high level of consciousness. Through the court, we actually model due process, stressing the U.S. Constitution.

The student court was a high-visibility event that brought positive public relations to the school. Feature stories in the newspaper, informal discussions at neighborhood coffee groups, and presentations at local civic groups put LRE on the map in Electra Heights. It was this type of attention that caused policymakers and parents from Eagle High to inquire about a similar program for their school.

The student court also provided for significant involvement by the school's assistant principal, who worked with the teachers to extend the mock trial experience beyond the classroom. He shared their interest in having students experience real cases related to student discipline: "When I was at Spirit, the court was the most visible and popular project at the school. Our goal was to help students see law from the point of view of society rather than from that of the mouse in the cat-and-mouse game." The assistant principal helped to lay the foundation for the court by working with the students and the teachers to write a constitution and set up an advisory committee that included school board members, attorneys, and police officers. Administrators have been pleased with the impact of the program:

> We saw a significant change in student attitudes toward rules. Our incidents of vandalism declined – almost to zero. We felt so good about it that we put it into a package and shared it with others at conferences, and I think some others were started with ideas that we provided.

The student court's popularity varies from year to year, but it still serves an important function in complementing the law program. The program is currently more dependent on the leadership of the lead law teacher, since both the principal and assistant principal who helped develop the program left Spirit during the same year.

Teacher Training. A key issue in maintaining a program is training for teachers new to the program, as well as renewal for experienced teachers. Since the intensive training programs such as the lead law teachers experienced are no longer available, teachers have taken advantage of several other types of training opportunities.

Absent from the list of training activities are district-sponsored professional days for law-related education. According to one interviewee, the most recent professional day for LRE was in 1980.

Workshops and state conferences sponsored by the state LRE project have attracted all five teachers interviewed. These training opportunities have met the needs of many teachers. Teachers and the police liaison officer spoke of specific materials and activities modeled at the workshops, such as *Privacy on the Road*, as well as the opportunity to exchange ideas with other law teachers.

Said one teacher, "The state project is an invaluable resource. We need more of the same type of workshops and conferences that are currently offered."

Several people interviewed expressed concern that the district teachers do not take advantage of the resources of the state LRE project (or other equally good training opportunities). Administrators indicate that it takes effort to get teachers to conferences. They are disappointed that the same few people seem to seek renewal. One administrator observed: "There's a ton of stuff out there, resources from the federal and state level, but we don't use them." One principal forwards specific flyers to teachers, but it takes a great deal of time to sort through all the things that cross his desk: "You've got to pick issues to be involved in. You can't do it all."

In making the case for a more systematic approach to training teachers in LRE, the middle school principal made this point: "When left to their own devices, teachers probably don't think of law as something they teach. They either stumble on it or need to be led to it. There's an attitude—once you're a teacher, you know it all." Some think that stipends offer some incentive to teachers. Others would emphasize the importance of having one or two well-trained and motivated people within a building: "That's enough to get a good program going."

Mentoring is a successful training technique present in Electra Heights. Two teachers mentioned that they have borrowed ideas and patterned their classes after the lead law teacher at Spirit. This is particularly true of a young teacher who was recruited from a feeder junior high school specifically to teach law at Spirit. He says, "I learned LRE by the seat of my pants. What little training I've had, I've enjoyed. _____ is my mentor. He cares about kids--I've worked hard to be like him." The lead teacher has enjoyed the role of mentor and the collegiality of working with the new teacher. The success of the mentor model with this teacher may be explained in part by his readiness to learn. The vice principal at Spirit feels, "You must catch teachers who want to get better—probably in the first five years if there is to be any significant change."

Spirit High avoided the problem of retraining a skeptical teacher from within the department when the other "founding" LRE teacher left the classroom for a vice principalship. The principal took the professional risk of placing a senior teacher, a year away from retirement, in a unpopular assignment so that he could bring in a new teacher who had the interest and teaching style that predicted success with the law course. One administrator described this teacher as one who would be successful in any assignment: "He puts energy and personality into the classroom; he is very confident and will seek the knowledge he needs from wherever the exposure is."

The teachers at Eagle, who feel that they have "had the course forced on them," expressed different training needs. Their concern relates to offering a course without the benefit of a background in law or an understanding of what the field of law is all about. Each semester, different teachers from business, health, and social studies are assigned to teach law, further complicating the issue of training. The business teacher, for example, found Practical Law to be very different from business law: "It was threatening at first because I didn't know the answers to student questions. I would like training that would make me more knowledgeable." Other teachers at Eagle also expressed an interest in training in substantive law: "I know what I need to about teaching; it's the content I need." One administrator explained that Eagle's social studies department has placed a strong emphasis on history electives, in which a body of knowledge is passed along. This administrator concludes, "I'm not sure you can take a historian and put them in law."

Most of the training for the continually changing corps of Eagle law teachers has been provided by the police liaison officer, who has attended several law-related workshops. He is available on a regular basis to help by calling resource people and identifying LRE materials. The officer enjoys filling this role: "I think [this position] has brought some real life to the course. Teachers might not

have heard of the *Privacy on the Road* material without us. We have our own films and handouts, so we can keep people updated." Some strong contrasts exist between the materials that the police liaison officer provides at Eagle (drinking and driving penalties, substance abuse) and those used at Spirit (moral dilemmas, case studies).

The training needs identified by Eagle teachers stand in sharp contrast to the needs identified by teachers and administrators from Spirit. The LRE teacher who is currently a vice principal at Spirit believes that training should have many of the characteristics of the intensive program he experienced—particularly peer involvement and clinical supervision. The lead LRE teacher at Spirit supports this call for training that includes methodology as well as substance: "I put methodology before the knowledge base. And it's not an either/or. I always think of Lee Arbetman who is extremely knowledgeable and doesn't let that get in the way of strategies. If we get only knowledge, we become lecturers and law would look like a U.S. history course."

Teaching Style. Discussion with all the practical law teachers conveyed the impression that law teachers see themselves as set somewhat apart from other social studies teachers. They view themselves as using methodologies that their colleagues may not see as worthwhile. Says one, "I'm a maverick. I like hamming it up." Law teachers feel that they have the courage to be different.

The law teachers also feel that the law class results in closer relationships with students. The nature of law means that students are more likely to come to them with problems. The course also helps students respond to controversial topics that may be considered taboo by other teachers. One example is the lead teacher's approach to teaching law-related aspects of the AIDS problem: "We're going one step further. We've got several kids actually going out to videotape and interview an AIDS patient. When I threw that at the parents, my principal about died, but the parents loved it—fantastic response." When asked how important a teacher's personality is, this teacher indicated that he believes many different types of teachers can be successful with law: "I don't think you can ever separate curriculum and teacher personality, but I'll take curriculum first and proper instructional methodology—that's bigger than any of us."

Use of Resource People. Resource people are used extensively at both high schools, providing students opportunities to talk with prison chaplains, state supreme court justices, probation officers, convicts, and AIDS patients.

The Police Liaison Officer Program is the most available resource to teachers. The program, funded by four local governmental entities, was designed about seven years ago as a link between law enforcement and the schools. The program description calls for three officers to work with schools, prekindergarten through high school. Said one officer, "We give programs on everything from 'Don't go with strangers' and substance abuse to 'You and the Law,' which deals with drinking and driving. We also talk about bicycle safety and shoplifting....We arrange court visitations and set up guest speakers." The officer interviewed feels his role in the Practical Law class is a significant one. "I think we're able to bring in some real life and keep it updated, keep it current. We keep students informed on new laws and the penalties."

The officer fills a role beyond that of education. One vice principal indicated that his contact with the officer also has to do with student-related problems such as tracing license plates: "I approach them as police officers not as instructors. They fill a valuable role, but it could be expanded." Use of the officers seems to rely in part on establishing credibility and a working relationship with teachers. Since the officer at Spirit is new, teachers are not sure if he will present a balanced view. Said one teacher, "Some of the guys from the old school can only see one side of the story." In contrast, the officer who works with Eagle is an integral part of the teaching team.

Elective vs. Mandated Courses. Electra Heights' experience in implementing a course in two schools, one that has ownership and training and one that feels law was forced on them without benefit of training, may explain the unanimous expression from interviewees that law is best implemented as an elective rather than as a mandate. Observed one interviewee:

> If we get a mandate, there will be people teaching it not because of love or desire but because they are told to teach it. Some of those folks will get involved in it and will become enamored with it and will do well. Others will convert it to their teaching style, and it will be just another course.

The state LRE coordinator, who is concerned about the issue, offered a second caveat against mandates:

> Once it is required for graduation, they decide that they've got to track it because you've got such a diverse student body. And the next thing that happens is that the very reason that LRE works is absolutely destroyed and diluted, because you have these low-level problem students all in a class together that most of them even have difficulty reading the high school texts and then you have all these advanced kids absolutely all together who can't even fathom getting into trouble with each other in the justice system.

The teachers at Spirit see the diversity of students as advantageous to their program. They express confidence that students will take the course because they want to—that it does not need to be forced on them: "Once kids have bitten into law and see the program work, it will grow by its own merits as opposed to push and shove."

Infusion. While Electra Heights' law program is best known for its Practical Law elective, many of those knowledgeable about law are committed to giving infusion of LRE more attention. The middle school seems to be the most fertile ground for this approach. According to the middle school principal:

> Our kids learn so much in isolation. They don't integrate what they are learning into other systems. The presence of interdisciplinary teams also makes infusion a strong possibility. Some teachers have worked together long enough that they are sick of talking about kids and are ready to start planning units cooperatively.

At least one teacher at the middle school who has attended LRE workshops sees how she can make the links between American history content and law: "Our curriculum is very tight in the middle school. It takes us all year to cover our objectives. Under my guidelines, it tells me to teach citizenship and that's how I will fit law in." The principal concurs that the issue of fitting law into the middle school is not one of money but rather an already-crowded curriculum.

The lead LRE teacher at Spirit has made presentations to middle school classes and sees the middle school as a place to build some concepts that will enhance what is done at the high school. He sees more enthusiasm for change and new programs at the middle school than at the high school. The police liaison officer, however, expressed concern that units or lessons introduced in the lower grades may reduce the impact or anticipation that students now have for the high school course.

Coordination and Leadership. Electra Heights' law program lacks an official coordinator. While every person interviewed (with the exception of the police liaison officer) acknowledged the lead LRE teacher at Spirit as the obvious resource and place to go for information, he has no title, job description, release time, or authority for LRE. He is widely used as a presenter and resource person at the lower grades and as a consultant in other districts.

In response to the question – whose job is it to see that LRE happens? – the teachers responded that they could do more to initiate staff development and curriculum activities. All of the teachers interviewed felt that much could be gained from getting together to share ideas. The new teacher at Spirit thought he could play a role in bringing some of the disenchanted teachers from Eagle to such a meeting. Consistent with the grass-roots approach to innovation that is characteristic of Electra Heights, the lead teacher at Spirit stated: "It all starts with us. We need to be resourceful, but we can't do it without physical and monetary support and we shouldn't have to do it after school." Teachers feel that they can initiate and that administrators will listen.

It appears that the lead teacher is an underutilized resource within his own district. A national award for a classroom project that brought senior citizens and students together to talk about the Constitution has taken him to four cities throughout the United States to make presentations. He has presented LRE workshops for other intermediate units in his state and offers his services to individual schools. He observes, "I'm a believer in LRE...I really think this has enhanced my career and in some ways turned me around. It's helped some of my colleagues." The state project has capitalized on his interest in organizational development as a presenter and as a congressional district coordinator for the National Bicentennial Competition.

This individual is interested in working with other teachers but recognizes that it is not his role to initiate a districtwide project. Administrators familiar with LRE also see that it takes more than an interested teacher to maintain an important and complex innovation. The question is whether LRE will become one of the priorities for renewal within Electra Heights. Someone will need to be assigned the responsibility of planning to meet the future needs of teachers.

Discussion

According to some indicators of institutionalization, the law program in Electra Heights can be viewed as having achieved some success. For example, if the indicator is durability of the program, Electra Heights gets high marks. The Practical Law class is highly valued by students and will continue to be a viable and important course at both high schools. Student interest and community support may be the strongest predictors of the course's viability. The large numbers of students interested in taking law have helped create a viable course despite lack of interest or support from the social studies department. At Spirit, there is consensus that the course would survive the loss of the lead teacher and his dynamic personality because the course responds to student interests and needs. Furthermore, the course has survived a major reorganization of district curriculum and electives' general decline in student popularity.

If active support and knowledge of high-level administrators is used as a measure of institutionalization, the course falls short. The absence of district-sponsored inservices and coordination among levels and between buildings points toward one place that the program could be improved. However, this case study does not indicate what impact a top-down approach to institutionalization might have in Electra Heights. Although there are questions as to what role would be best for top-level officials to fill, one can only hope that the feeling of ownership and investment that the teachers feel will not be lost, but that additional committed teachers could be recruited.

The Electra Heights case study illustrates the important role that teachers can play in all stages of the institutionalization process. One of the key issues raised is the importance of developing teacher leaders. The lead law teachers who are credited with developing awareness, securing adoption, nurturing special programs, and mentoring new teachers have some qualities that should be recognized and recruited into the field.

The intensive training and clinical supervision programs in which these teachers participated may offer some answers as to the type of training that created leadership. How can the field recruit or train more teachers who will take the risks necessary to secure change and endorse LRE as enthusiastically and eloquently as those who initiated the program in Electra Heights? How can that ownership be passed on to others? The package that was provided through outside funding not only provided critical knowledge and skills for a successful program, it created the seeds for a program that is feasible and affordable to the district.

CASE STUDY: BASE COUNTY

Demographics

Base County is the third largest school system in a southeastern state. Located about 90 miles from the Atlantic coast, the county has a population of about 257,600, with 62,000 residing in an urban center near the middle of the county. Industrial growth during the past 20 years has provided new jobs and a springboard for rapid population increases. Traveling from school to school in the district, one passes pridefully maintained tiny homes, spacious suburban ranch houses, aging and dusty farms, colorful shopping centers, recently completed urban office buildings, and dilapidated shacks.

The district comprises almost 700 square miles and has 44,000 pupils, 2,700 certified employees, eight senior high schools, 13 junior high schools, 44 elementary schools, two kindergartens, and two schools for special needs students. Teachers in the district average 11 years of experience; 28 percent have master's degrees.

As one might expect, there are wide variations among areas within the county. Some sections have relatively stable student and faculty populations. Other areas, especially near the two large military bases that exert a commanding influence on the area's economy, have high turnover rates for both students and faculty. Some students in the county are descendants of generations of county residents, while for others Base County is only the latest in a series of schools they have attended across the world. Minority students, especially blacks, comprise a high percentage of students, and the student population includes students from diverse backgrounds. While some students continue to higher education, many do not. Providing programs appropriate for such a diverse audience is the challenge facing Base County educators.

Current LRE Programs

The LRE effort in Base County represents an attempt to implement the social studies citizenship program envisioned (and required) by the state department of public instruction. At least three characteristics of the state program must be mentioned. First, LRE is considered to be an inherent and essential part of the state citizenship education effort. It has never been viewed by the department as an independent entity, but rather as a strand supporting citizenship in a democratic society.

The second characteristic is a function of the first. Because the department believes that "within our schools, social studies has traditionally embodied the important role of preparing young people to inherit the right and responsibility of citizenship," citizenship competencies and objectives have been specified at each grade level. Some of these, such as "the learner will understand the role of rules and laws in the home and school," are clearly LRE, but they are never identified as such. Instead, they—like other citizenship competencies—are simply identified as "political science." However, these LRE-type items can be found at every grade level, clearly revealing that the state sought to infuse LRE throughout the social studies curriculum.

The third trait to be addressed is the existence of a ninth-grade course required for high school graduation; this course is regarded by those knowledgeable in LRE in the state as "the" place where LRE is emphasized. This course addresses a variety of competencies that are clearly LRE. These include:

> Have a continuing awareness and understanding of issues and problems confronting the economic, legal, and political systems.
>
> Know the responsibilities associated with citizenship.

Know why we live in a society governed by law.

Know the importance of the roles of the United States and state constitutions.

Know the structure and function of the American government under the law.

Know how conflicts and disputes are addressed by the legal and political systems.

Know how to function in a democratic society.

Each competency has been refined into objectives and related assessment measures.

This PEL (Political, Economic, Legal) course represents a conscious effort by the state department of public instruction to guarantee that most students in the state get a basic introduction to the governmental, economic, and legal systems before they graduate or drop out. The ninth grade was selected as the target grade because it promised to reach many students who traditionally drop out after moving to the high school level.

In addition to the PEL course, several cocurricular LRE programs are offered. Students have opportunities to participate in a local CloseUp program on Law Day and a variety of such other activities as poster and essay contests. The field experience is available to a limited number of students, but teachers often have participants report back to other students about the activity. While the teachers have been extremely supportive of these programs and have invested many hours in planning them, the district has not placed a high priority on them. For example, teachers have sometimes had difficulty obtaining district buses for field experiences and substitute teachers to cover the classes of teachers who acted as chaperons.

Program Development: Awareness and Adoption

The Base County LRE program is a direct response to mandated changes in the state social studies curriculum. Because of the importance of the state mandate in promoting the development of LRE in Base County, it is important to begin this discussion by examining the development of LRE at the state level.

Building Statewide Support. The initial impetus for LRE at the state level came from a variety of sources. First, a professor at the law school of one of the state universities founded an institute for government there. The state social studies coordinator remembered:

> A part of his whole effort was the fact that you could teach government and law to young people and that's kind of how we got started in it. He did workshops for several summers for teachers on government, but LRE was a part of it. The division director in the state department of public instruction got interested in it at about the same time through contact with this individual....We went to workshops at the university and the department helped to sponsor them. It (LRE) has always been part of social studies as far as I'm concerned. There's just no other place for teaching about the law. We were doing LRE before we knew there was such a thing.

Other groups also exerted state-level influence. One state department of education employee remembered that during the early 1970s:

> There was a committee of the bench, the bar, the press, and some political candidates that got interested in law education as crime prevention. Someone had gone to a national convention to see what others were doing and there was a rash of comic books out. The lieutenant governor was ready to do the preaching kind of LRE. So we were ready to put a more positive bend on there. We're going to get

> dragged into this, but we're going to do it our way. We knew there were some positive approaches to LRE and we wanted to make sure that the approaches we took were positive, and I think that's why we had a conference. That's why we appointed an advisory committee, and once we had that committee in place it gave us a certain stature of being committed to LRE. The assistant superintendent (state level) supported us, but the social studies people did the daily decision-making. We held a very small one-day conference, but the right people were there. We picked the 20 biggest districts in the state. We didn't just involve the ones that the state department had worked with before. It made us more aware of what was out there.

Another important aspect of this formative phase was the involvement of several of the national projects. Several project directors attended an organizing meeting in the state. This meeting, which brought together such diverse groups as the bar, school administrators, students, the League of Women Voters, members of the judiciary, crime commission, and police, helped build essential long-term support for LRE and created a critical mass of LRE advocates. This was the genesis of the advisory committee that continues today.

Shortly thereafter, a small amount of money from the department was made available to initiate an LRE effort. This initial program involved selected districts in the state and focused on the secondary level. It brought school personnel and representatives of the justice community together in training sessions and later in the classroom. Its primary thrust was to conduct workshops designed by the department of education.

This initial effort was followed by a series of related training and materials development and dissemination efforts. Projects have focused on different grade levels and different aspects of LRE. They have built upon each other in a sequential plan involving materials development followed by training and dissemination. Overall, the department has had almost 15 years of uninterrupted funding for LRE from private, federal, and state government sources. During the late 1970s, the department began to work more closely with the Constitutional Rights Foundation and sponsored a series of workshops targeted at districts with high crime rates. A series of other training efforts targeted at different K-12 audiences followed, but all provided teachers with materials.

Over almost a decade of statewide LRE activities, local LRE advocates were generated, materials were disseminated, teachers were trained, and educational/justice community links were established. Thus, by the time the 1979-82 social studies curriculum review process was conducted, a strong grass roots cadre of LRE proponents existed.

Throughout this entire formative process, personnel in the social studies office of the department of education have been a key. Individuals at the state capital, as well as some of the regional consultants, have worked tirelessly to promote LRE. The importance of the social studies office is clearly reflected in the office director's observation that "the LRE decision was made out of the state social studies office." When queried about why the social studies office was so strongly supportive of LRE the director responded:

> We saw it as the major part of the citizenship education strand; the law and government go hand in hand and the object was to improve that particular strand for our curriculum. Civics was in disarray and not very well respected at the time. In fact, we did away with the call for civics somewhere in that time – in 1969 or 70 I believe – and went to a multiple call (for textbooks). Some LRE materials were adopted at that time. We defined LRE a little more broadly than most places, although we have the special activities such as Law Day, we have moot court competition now, and we have special courses like Law and Justice. We saw it as something to be infused

> throughout the curriculum. We've made an attempt to have the three strands that run K-12 – the citizenship education strand, the international education strand, and the economic strand; those three things we see as part of every course at every grade.

Clearly the director is strongly committed to citizenship education as an essential function of social studies and sees LRE as an integral aspect of that effort. In addition, because the social studies office had the support of the assistant superintendent, the office director was able to effectively act as an LRE advocate and over time take the many steps necessary to provide a strong foundation for LRE in the state.

Building Local Support. Once the state requirement was in place, local districts really had no choice about whether or not to do LRE; it was part of a mandated course that was scheduled to start. Local boards had two options: Get a head start or wait a year and do the best that they could. There was no need for debate at the local level, nor did local community pressure have any bearing on the decision to do LRE. It was simply a case of implementing the latest directives from the department of public instruction. The regional social studies consultant for the state department was an LRE advocate, however, and looked forward to doing the program. She took the lead in encouraging Base County to use the year of lead time to prepare for implementing a quality program. This consultant described Base County's decision as follows:

> The way we sold that (LRE) here was basically to say "the course is going into effect next year; let's get a handle on the curriculum before it goes into effect." That whole thing came about because _____ (a national project director) and I were talking about what can we do to see what really works. You've got a golden opportunity to see how this works in the ninth grade because we've got this new ninth-grade program coming up and I said "If it's done in this state, I want to do it. I'd like something fun to do." The Base County project was sold as a way to help teachers before the ninth-grade curriculum came on line. The Scholastic stuff existed and fit with ninth grade. LRE didn't go in as a special thing, it was part of an economics, LRE, and politics package that came out of the statewide hearings which had called for a practical citizenship course. We held hearings with teachers, with other groups for them to present to the committee what ought to be in the curriculum; it soon became pretty clear that there was a feeling that at some point before high school dropouts dropped, there needed to be a sort of crash course in citizenship – this is what the world is like out there – and that became the ninth-grade program. It came from the grass roots and was seen locally as a need. By this time citizenship education was coming on the scene so it was a salable commodity.

The national project director referred to stood ready to support the regional consultant and was involved in initial discussions of how to develop the program. The local state consultant therefore knew that she would have adequate external support. In addition, as these comments indicate, the new state social studies curriculum was not simply the result of department leaders' developing a new program, but rather was a carefully planned program that derived from statewide teacher input. The ninth-grade course was the department's response to grass-roots demands for a practical citizenship education class that would reach students before many dropped out of school. LRE was one component of a course designed to prepare students to be effective citizens and consumers in U.S. society. Materials existed that were appropriate to both the grade level of the students and the objectives of the course.

Another factor important during the adoption phase was the receptivity of the county social studies coordinator. He was a staunch advocate of LRE throughout his tenure and was the primary force supporting LRE within the county administration. In conjunction with the state regional consultant, he was able to support teachers and promote the program. Although the state regional consultant continues to be a strong proponent, she stresses that without help from someone inside the district, her ability to support programs is severely limited. Thus, the district coordinator had a crucial role in providing a bridge that allowed state resources to enter the district and in providing the impetus that started and maintained LRE in Base County.

Although all of these factors and others shaped the evolution of LRE in Base County, the critical factor in the local adoption decision was the presence of the state mandate. There is little evidence that Base County would have become more involved in LRE without the state-mandated change in the curriculum. One teacher described the stimulus for change as, "if you know that you're going to leave the history which at times can be very boring and know that you're into different things, then you want to try to be prepared."

Program Development: Implementation and Evolution

Although factors operating during the adoption decision-making process would exert a decisive influence on LRE in Base County, other factors that came into play during the implementation and evolution of the project also have affected institutionalization. Institutionalization depends upon the interactions among a complex set of variables; some of the factors that have promoted or inhibited institutionalization of LRE in Base County are identified and described in this section.

Training and Follow-up. One of the most important factors promoting institutionalization was the quality of the original training and follow-up support. In examining the impact of the training, it is important to note that the teachers who participated were not volunteers. When asked why they came, virtually all the teachers responded that they had been teaching ninth grade and their principal told them that the state was mandating a new course at that grade level and that the county was offering a training program to help prepare teachers to implement the new program. One teacher summarized the selection process by saying, "I was the ninth-grade social studies teacher here at the time and the principal says, 'You.' There's not a whole lot of 'do you want to?' any more."

In a few cases, the request to attend training was made by the district social studies coordinator. Since not all the junior high schools were involved, the social studies coordinator selected schools based on his assessment of the quality of teachers at the ninth grade in an effort to find a sample reflecting diverse national educational patterns. In all cases, however, people were invited because they were teaching a particular grade level. None of the teachers expressed resentment about how they were assigned to the program.

Only one of the teachers who participated in the training had any familiarity with LRE, although some had used simulations, community resource persons, and other strategies characteristic of LRE. One of the more innovative teachers reported, "I did a lot of this beforehand. I had conducted mock trials. We did debates. We made 'Meet the Press' simulations." Another teacher indicated that "LRE was similar to what I felt good education was."

Most of the teachers, however, were more like the individual who described her previous teaching style as, "Before it was teacher-lecture, a few questions and answers, and take a lot of notes. It was very structured." Another described her class as, "The class we had before was a history class and it was kind of like I would get up there and teach, then we'd see some film, then we'd talk about it, and then we'd do study questions – that kind of stuff."

When asked to explain why they used such traditional approaches, teachers offered two responses. One teacher accurately described how school norms supported traditional methods when she observed, "It was ingrained in us for a long time. You keep order and quiet, sit quietly, you don't disturb anybody; you don't give those kids an opportunity to move around." The other explanation was that teachers did not know any other techniques and the content of the course that preceded LRE simply did not lend itself to innovative approaches. One teacher commented:

> I've always tried different things, but I'd never done group work or a lot of role plays. Our books used to be such that you'd finish up eighth grade around 1865 and you've got to get them to that point so the ninth grade could pick up from eighth. You're almost forced to race through. I never saw strategies, and the course materials didn't lend themselves to that. When you're trying to throw out a whole bunch of facts in U.S. history there's not a whole lot of chance there for role plays or one thing or another. This is a different course and everything lends itself to these kinds of activities. U.S. history doesn't.

Clearly, the interactive strategies advanced by LRE were new to most of these individuals. Yet the workshop was able to prepare teachers to do quality LRE. The power of the training and follow-up support in Base County is apparent when this site is compared with others in this study. In other locales, teachers whose educational philosophy and classroom practices were congruent with LRE became LRE practitioners, but those with less congruent views and behaviors were less receptive. In Base County most of the teachers readily admit to having relied upon traditional approaches and conforming to typical school norms. Yet after the training program and follow-up support, their classroom instructional practices were radically different. This finding suggests that it is possible to develop effective LRE instructors through training and support that resocialize them to norms and behaviors congruent with LRE.

Base County is significant because it is the only site in the study sample where this occurred to large extent. One should note, however, that a significant number of Base County LRE teachers described themselves as "willing to try something new." They seemed to have an openness and willingness to change. As one teacher said, "Even in other classes, I try to do new things." A few others readily admitted that they were ready for change in their classrooms. While the training enhanced teacher knowledge of the law and provided some guidelines about what constituted good LRE, it did not provide teachers with either a command of the content nor a clear vision of what the LRE project should be. One teacher observed, "Clarity that first year? No! The course was always defining itself, but that didn't bother me." Another noted, "Realistically, no. Activities with adults are different from kids, but I did have a good theoretical foundation."

The success of the workshop rested on several foundations. First, it gave teachers a rationale for teaching LRE at that grade level. Moreover, this rationale fit closely with the teachers' experiences and needs. One teacher was strongly attracted to delinquency prevention because he worked with many troubled youths. He commented, "If you ever taught in Elm Junior High School and saw the hoodlums we've got, you'd know why there's so much juvenile delinquency in this age group....There was a big need for this. I thought the course was important and wanted to give it a shot." Another teacher expressed a similar sentiment when she remarked:

> I felt the philosophy behind the program was a good one. It seemed reasonable to me. Many students that we have are not going to continue in school and, as much as I love U.S. history, they need a more realistic course at this level – something that will actually be of benefit to them when they get out of school.

Another teacher commented:

> I thought it would be a very positive experience for this age group, opening up to them what is criminal law, what is civil law. We have lots of dropouts in this age group and I felt this would give them some knowledge about what was facing them in society. We had a lot of kids who were in trouble with the law anyway.

The training program, therefore, laid a strong foundation by presenting a rationale that addressed what teachers saw as a need in their community.

While many teachers were attracted by a rationale based on student and societal needs, other teachers found that the training session addressed personal needs as well. For example, one teacher described her positive response to LRE by saying, "It was important. I was teaching history too. If this goes over, I won't have to do World War I and II. There's not much you can do with it. LRE was a way to have fun in the classroom." Thus, some teachers saw teaching LRE as more rewarding for the instructor. One of the most important ways LRE made teaching rewarding was by stimulating student interest. Many of the teachers continued with LRE because of student response. They felt a sense of reward and satisfaction when students were enthusiastic about a course and when that enthusiasm was translated into learning. Student interest and response were consistently mentioned as motivators for continued teacher effort.

The second strength of the training effort was that it provided teachers with content background. One teacher spoke for the group when he said, "My big concern was did I know enough about the law to get by in the classroom. At the first workshop, that was the question in everybody's mind." Although the workshop did not attempt to make lawyers out of the participants, it did offer substantive information across a range of legal topics. Equally important, it showed teachers that they did not have to know all of the answers and suggested how community resource persons might be used effectively to respond when students posed questions requiring a detailed knowledge of the law.

Another important aspect of the workshop was that it provided teachers with the instructional materials necessary to implement the program. The state regional consultant observed that "the materials give teachers access to the real world outside of school through resource people. It's fun to do. The kids love it and that's what keeps it going." Teachers concurred that the materials were essential. One remarked, "The notebooks given to us were very beneficial." Another teacher described the impact of having the LRE materials:

> I didn't use role plays as much because I didn't have the materials. We got such an abundance of materials to use that made it easy to use these other methods because you had something to use them with. The flexibility is important because what works with one class won't work with the next group. I think the whole PEL program is an attempt to make students aware of citizenship – they have to have a level of knowledge before they can be aware of the role of a citizen. They can see law situations so it's a little easier for them to see than the other books which are more traditional textbooks.

This suggests that even though the training may have convinced teachers of the value of doing LRE, providing them with materials that were flexible, allowed teacher adaptation, and did not require huge investments of teacher time to use effectively was an important element in the willingness of teachers to initiate and continue LRE instruction in their classes. The importance of ease of use is reflected in the limited use of resource persons in some classes in Base County. Several teachers indicated that they did not use the resource person extensively. One teacher revealed that her use of resource persons had declined as she became more knowledgeable in the law. This finding suggests that training should perhaps place more emphasis on the delinquency prevention rationale for

using resource persons. Teachers should realize that resource people are used not simply to compensate for a teacher's lack of substantive knowledge, but also to provide positive adult role models.

When queried about the limited use of resource persons, teachers disclosed that getting effective resource persons to present for all of their classes simply took too much time and effort. However, several teachers remarked that "since it was something I didn't know a lot about, the fact that I could ask people who did know something about it to come in and help made it a little easier."

Thus, having easy-to-use materials and access to knowledgeable individuals were important during the initial phase of implementation; as teachers became more knowledgeable about the content, they felt securing resource persons took too much effort when compared to the benefits. The ability of teachers to establish contact with resource persons and to experience how effective they could be, however, was an important component of the initial training session.

The workshop also gave teachers an opportunity to hone their instructional skills. They engaged in activities from the perspective of students and then analyzed those activities from the perspective of instructors. In addition, the workshop facilitators modeled the teaching behaviors that made the lessons effective.

Another aspect of the training that significantly contributed to the longevity of the LRE program in Base County was the sense of collegiality and enthusiasm that developed among the participants. One element of generating enthusiasm was the presence of outside experts, whose participation conveyed a sense of importance to those involved. They made a lasting impression. One teacher remarked:

> Even now when I travel around the county, I'll have teachers ask me have I heard from (national expert)? Is he ever going to come back? They'd like to find out what's going on. The presence of somebody from the outside sort of says, "Hey, this is important" and it gets the folks down in the central office when you have some assertive leadership to say this is what's going on out there; let's hop on the bandwagon.

One participant described the supportive dynamics that developed within the group of trainees:

> Somehow he managed to pick a group of people who, when he put us together, we just kind of fit real good. We got along so well—a lot of sharing and about all of us had a part in that thing we did at the social studies convention. It's just something about the group. We just jelled. We all got kind of excited about it. Schools that didn't have the training aren't doing it nearly the same way.

Another respondent presented even more powerful testimony about the strength of the bonding produced by the workshop:

> Three of the four teachers who teach PEL were in the pilot. We've hung onto a couple of classes of it. The fourth teacher wasn't in the pilot, and she isn't as interested. We stayed with it even though some years Larry and Blue and I had to teach state history, but I hung onto a couple of classes of PEL....We were fired up because of the course and there were three of us. That kept our interest up. We could talk about...what worked and what didn't, pace each other. There was more sharing of materials and exchanges than we usually have and it's followed over into other parts of the PEL program. It's very important and that's one of the reasons why we remain so interested in the law part of PEL.

Other teachers commented about the sense of collegiality and how important it was to have the support of other pilot group members, people who would share ideas that worked, discuss what had not been effective and why, and generally share a sense of excitement about a common endeavor. While this sense of collegiality derived initially from the first training session, other factors also promoted its development. Both the district social studies coordinator and the state regional social studies consultant recognized that LRE required many teachers to make drastic changes in teaching style, that it used strategies that were counter to many of the norms of typical schools, and that any innovation is bound to create increased stress for participating teachers. They therefore they made an extensive effort to resocialize the pilot teachers. This resocialization effort had several dimensions. First, the local district coordinator and the state regional consultant made numerous visits to each teacher. As the state regional consultant recalled:

> I spent some considerable time that first year going to see how they were doing. The district consultant and I kept a pretty good, tight rein on that project, which would not have been possible if I had been working alone. And the district consultant found money in the budget to give them "bennies" – like every one of them went to the state social studies conference and that sort of thing. We used some as consultants in other school systems.

Describing the importance of the district social studies coordinator's involvement, one teacher said:

> Exceptionally important. That was probably the one thing that helped the program succeed the most – the fact that he was so interested in it and so he helped us get books, helped us get some activities, he'd just drop in to see what was going on. Usually this door is closed, and you're in here by yourself with the students. You have no frame of reference as to how things are going or if you're on the right track. On days when things weren't going well, the fact that he was interested and would come around and visit kept you going. You knew he was interested and would help if you asked for it. It relieved your anxiety.

It is important to note that what the two consultants were doing was rewarding teachers for practicing new behaviors. They were creating new norms of what was appropriate teacher behavior. The trips, verbal support, gifts of new activities, release time to meet with other project teachers, and other special treatment all conveyed to the participants that their new instructional practices were desirable.

It is also important to realize that the two consultants were targeting a significant amount of their time and energy at a relatively small number of teachers – approximately a dozen – who all taught the same grade level. This represents a large resource investment in a small target audience, but it appears that such a substantial commitment of resources is necessary if traditional teachers are to significantly modify their instructional methods.

In addition, both consultants constantly reminded the teachers that they were part of a national study of the effectiveness of LRE programs. Several participants remembered that this focus on their work generated pride and a commitment to implementing the program in the best possible manner. One teacher described the impact of this national scrutiny as, "We knew that we were in a program, that we were going to be visited, and...that you all were going to see what was going to happen and that was important....There was a sense of being very special." Another said, "To know that someone is coming all the way from Colorado to see what you're doing – now that had an impact on me. We wanted to do the best job we could.

Both the initial training and the follow-up were carefully planned to be resocializing experiences. The training and follow-up provide a model of how to blend use of external and internal resource persons. The director of a national project worked with the state regional and district consultants to plan the workshop. The local consultants participated in the training and used their contacts to secure community resource persons, field experience settings, and an ideal training location in a local governmental building. In addition, their presence conveyed a sense of official support for the effort, and they emphasized that their role was one of support for the teachers. After the national expert departed, the local consultants monitored the project, visited teachers, and generally provided the material and emotional follow-up support needed to ensure teacher success and commitment.

Opportunities to train others also contributed to the increasing commitment of teachers to LRE. One teacher commented:

> I even did some work at the superintendents' conference one time. That made me feel good. A superintendent from the western part of the state was really interested in this, and I got invited to their conference to put on a workshop. The more of it I did, the more confident I felt about what I could do. It also created a keener interest in it. But now I think in the last few years that perhaps I've fallen stagnant. I'm being completely honest. I'm looking around hoping that some sort of workshop will pop up.

Consistently, all of the initial participants reported that the training, materials, support, opportunities to train others, and national interest in events in Base County combined with their personal belief in the program to produce extraordinarily high levels of commitment. When asked to rate their commitment to LRE on a scale from one to ten, with ten being most important, they consistently assigned it a value of between eight and ten. Clearly, the efforts of the trainers and regional and district coordinators to energize and resocialize the pilot teachers were successful; to a large extent, this success is the single most important factor keeping quality LRE alive in Base Country today.

Support of Building-Level Administrators. Although support from the state regional consultant and district coordinator was crucial, the support of some building-level administrators has also contributed to the quality and longevity of LRE in Base County. While the support and interest level of principals and their assistants varied from building to building, all of the teachers indicated that their building-level administrators expressed at least moderate interest and provided some support for the PEL program.

When asked to describe the interest of her principal, one participant responded, "About a six (on a scale of one to ten, with ten being extremely interested). He wanted it to be successful. His interest now is about the same because he wants it done right. He'll give you as much support as you need."

In another school, in which two PEL teachers have been the county social studies teachers the past two years, the principal and his assistant have been even more involved in the program. Both teachers and the assistant principal reported that the administrators were instrumental in obtaining the funds necessary to purchase LRE books. Moreover, a teacher reported that they "showed an interest and an appreciation of the interest level of the students." One teacher even got suggestions for resources from his principal. He attributed the principal's interest to the "PR" generated by the program and the local need. He said, when asked about his principal's support: "He sees a big need for it (LRE) at this age level. Also, we get good PR from the CloseUp program." High-visibility events and the delinquency prevention potential of LRE therefore contribute to secure building-level administrative support.

Availability of Resource Persons. Although some teachers admitted that they do not use resource persons as frequently as they knew they should, all have used resource persons. There was consensus that the availability of resource persons during the early years of the project was crucial. Teachers universally recognized that they did not have a strong content background and therefore needed to bring resource persons into their classes to provide that content expertise. Although the use of resource persons by some teachers has declined as their knowledge of the content has increased, the initial availability of legal experts willing to make classroom presentations was a key factor in the program's success.

Initial Classroom Success. Certainly the first few times teachers used LRE lessons they did not always work as smoothly as they had in the workshops, but teachers met with enough success to be encouraged to try the lessons again. In the few instances where teachers might have been discouraged, the two social studies consultants and colleagues often provided enough support to overcome the initial disappointment.

Teachers emphasized that their ability to encounter at least modest success from the beginning was an important factor in their willingness to continue to use and refine LRE. One teacher explained his willingness to invest the time and effort necessary to refine the project: "As I got involved in it, I saw it would work. Student responses, interaction between myself and students, test results, their interest level – it all changed." Another teacher also emphasized student response as the factor that motivated her to keep doing LRE and refining it:

> LRE with its materials made it easier for me to create that interaction. For example, LRE is still more interactive than government, I think because of the students' interest, student response. It seems like they have a greater knowledge of this subject because they paid attention. In other subjects they're often not all here. That was what kept me going – even if they were noisy the first time – because they were interested in it and after it was over, they would talk about it. That made me feel like it was worthwhile and that I should try again.

Obviously, for these teachers the final proof was in students' responses in the classroom. Student interest and learning were so improved that teachers became convinced that LRE was important and worth doing. Because teachers use student interest as one of the key indicators of the quality of an instructional program, they also decided that LRE was an easy course to teach. One respondent remarked, "It's been one of the easiest courses to motivate all ranges of students. Kids brought questions from home." The perception that LRE was both more effective and easier to teach than previous courses has been a strong motivation to continue teaching it.

Individual Factors in Implementing the Mandate. The year following the pilot, when the new state mandate took effect, new teachers were trained by the local and state consultants and the pilot teachers. Some of these second-generation teachers also became LRE advocates, but others rejected it entirely. One staunch opponent remarked:

> If I wanted to teach law, I'd have gone to law school. If that's what I wanted to spend my time doing, I should have gone another direction. When you're prepared to teach history and all of a sudden someone says "Oh, you're supposed to spend this much time teaching law and deal with crime and all of the other aspects of statistics," gee, that's not my cup of tea. I have a PE major with history minor. I studied history for years. If I have to teach straight legal systems, nothing but, I'd just as soon get out of it. That's how I feel.

As more teachers were needed to teach the course because of the mandate, there was less time available to support individual teachers, few resources for each one, and less intensive training avail-

able. The merger of city and county schools exacerbated this problem by incorporating into the new system a large group of city teachers who had never been trained. As a result, the second-generation teachers generally do not exhibit the fervor of the initial pilot group. The interest of the initial group continued to drive the program. They shared ideas with colleagues, actively searched for new ideas and materials, and promoted the program. Their interest in and commitment to LRE resulted in the development of cocurricular support programs. A local CloseUp program on Law Day based on interactive models emerged to reinforce the classroom programs.

The problem of providing masses of teachers with the training needed to implement quality LRE was compounded by staff turnover. One teacher remarked, "Among many of the other schools we'd have follow-up programs and every year there'd be different people coming into the meeting. They had such a change in personnel, when we had the same three people for the whole time. That kept our interest up."

District Expectation. The most common description used by teachers to characterize the current state of LRE in Base County was stagnation and decline. Teachers felt that they were generally unsupported at the central office level, where LRE was no longer a priority. While they will continue to do LRE, they see other teachers emphasizing the government and economics components of the PEL course, fitting law in when they can, but rarely using interactive strategies. They agreed that the PEL course would continue for at least the next five years, since the state and district had recently adopted textbooks for the course, but there was general pessimism about the quality of what would happen.

The absence of any staff development in LRE for several years—for either experienced teachers or personnel new to the course—has had a negative effect. One teacher observed:

> The old hands are looking for new ideas. I'm not bored with it, but you need to keep looking for something new, anything that will spark interest. I'd love to have any new ideas. Now we are having new teachers who have never been exposed to the enthusiasm of training. I think it's your hard-core people who were in from the very beginning and maybe some of your first trainees who continue to do it. We need some revitalization, some rejuvenation....They (new teachers) never went to training, and I don't think they're as enthusiastic or as willing to try some of these things.

Another teacher reinforced the need for staff development in response to staff changed by remarking:

> I pass along my lesson plans to whoever else is teaching it, but with limited time to actually sit down and see what it all means and with their having no workshops, no background, it'd be a miracle if all of the kids were exposed to the same thing. Even with the best intentions, it's impossible for me to share everything with every teacher. Besides, it's not the same as having been involved in the practical experience and the context of how it all fits together. New teachers and old teachers need training.

Another teacher confided, "We've got one teacher here who is teaching one course who has never had any training in this at all. We're also incorporating this into our special ed program, and the special ed teacher has never had any type of training."

Lack of central office support, especially from the social studies coordinator who replaced the original coordinator after the first year of the program, and a high rate of turnover among ninth-grade faculty have also contributed to lower morale and a sense that the LRE dimension of the PEL program is being poorly implemented in most schools. One teacher cited two schools where there is

"constant teacher turnover. I'm sure there are people who would benefit from training, but there hasn't been any support for the past three or four years. The social studies supervisor checks on us, but he never really asks too much." Another teacher indicated, "Since _____ (the original social studies supervisor) has been gone, we've had very little as far as workshops like we had before." Another remarked, "His visits made a significant difference, but the new social studies supervisor has very seldom visited my class. He's in and out and there's no closeness. We're on our own since he left. Most of the teachers I've talked to feel the same way."

The problem was compounded by the inability of the state regional social studies consultant to support the teachers. The politics of state/local linkages are such that, as in many other states, state personnel are reluctant to intervene in local districts without an invitation. As a state department representative, the regional consultant feels she can only work in a district with the encouragement and invitation of the local district. The new district coordinator appears to have little interest in LRE and has not encouraged the regional consultant to work with district teachers in this area. Instead, he has not exerted strenuous efforts to secure the resources necessary to effectively conduct annual programs such as CloseUp. One assistant principal observed, "I think our social studies supervisor spends a heck of a lot more time on the study of state history than PEL. The reason being is they're a lot more knowledgeable about state history. They kind of do what comes naturally to them."

Thus, after almost a decade, the initial pilot teachers labor against district inertia to continue to provide quality LRE within the context of the PEL course. They feel they have little support at the district central office. There has been no staff development to either renew the experienced PEL teachers nor introductory training for new PEL teachers who are increasingly replacing trained ones who leave the district, advance into administrative positions, or exit their classrooms for other reasons. As a result, LRE in Base County continues because of two factors—committed teachers who have embraced the rationale for LRE and its methods and a state mandate that requires that LRE be taught within the context of the PEL course. Yet the state has neither the monitoring power nor resources to prepare the vast numbers of teachers required to fulfill mandated needs.

Discussion

The small group of original LRE teachers who continue to deliver quality LRE despite minimal district support indicates that significant and long-term changes in teachers' classroom behaviors are possible. A review of the evolution of LRE in Base County reveals a wide range of factors that encourage the continuation of LRE and another set of factors that inhibit its continuation as a high-quality program. Among the factors supporting the program are high-quality training and follow-up that resocialized teachers, access to materials that generated increased student interest and permitted flexible use, balanced use of local and national experts, resources sufficient to meet the needs of a limited target audience, intensive follow-up from skilled local discipline coordinators, a strong sense of collegiality, a sense of pride derived from being a national research site, building-level administrative support, a sense that LRE addressed a local need of students and teachers, the ability of the program to be successful in generating student interest and improving academic performance, access to community resource persons during early critical stages, the development of high-visibility events that reflected positively on schools and their administrators, and a state mandate.

A variety of other factors, however, have combined to result in a small group of teachers using the strategies that characterize LRE and many others doing government and economics with very few LRE strategies. First, the state mandate greatly increased the demand for PEL teachers. Every ninth-grade instructor was expected to do LRE as part of the PEL program. To provide intensive training similar to that provided to the pilot teachers would have required the district to target training resources for LRE rather than generic staff development cutting across disciplines. This problem is compounded by the fact that the state has not identified LRE as something new and different. As

a result, a teacher unacquainted with the rationale and strategies inherent in LRE can look at the state competencies and objectives, conclude that they are really part of a traditional government course, and proceed to use a civics textbook in a traditional read-and-discuss mode. The mandate, then, ensures that PEL is taught, but given the massive need for teachers to deliver the course and the lack of training, quality instruction and the use of LRE strategies become problematic at best.

The lack of an adequately trained staff is exacerbated by staff turnover. Some original pilot teachers continue to teach the course, but others have left the district or moved on to administration. Their replacements have had minimal preparation and lack the commitment to LRE that characterized the original group of instructors. Moreover, high rates of teacher turnover in some buildings have meant that every year or two a new untrained person is delivering the course.

A change in the position of district social studies coordinator also has not had a positive impact on the LRE program. The former coordinator was very interested in and supportive of LRE. If he were still in his position, he might be able to access some of the $100 per teacher the state provides to each district for staff development. The current coordinator, who has shown little interest in LRE, has not aggressively pursued resources nor act as an LRE advocate in the central office. This is not surprising, since advocates tend to develop around efforts in which they have been personally involved from the beginning and for which they feel a sense of ownership. As a result, LRE staff development has not occurred for years; any expenditures for LRE that go beyond the minimum are difficult to obtain. While the former district coordinator had a positive working relationship with the state regional consultant and often invited her to work with his teachers, the new district coordinator has not conveyed the same sense of interest in working with the regional consultant. As a result, the teachers lost not only the support of their district coordinator, but that of the regional consultant as well.

The failure of teachers to cultivate community resource persons and to form a local advisory board has also inhibited the LRE program. There is no advocacy group of respected community citizens who can go to the superintendent and school board to speak in behalf of LRE and question why it has not received adequate support. As a result, teachers find themselves without grass-roots support from the community and administrative support from the district office. Lack of police interest in the program in some sections of the county has deterred teachers from calling them, resulting in the loss of another potential ally.

While the original band of pilot teachers continues to enthusiastically provide LRE instruction to their students, the vast majority of teachers in Base County seem to have little interest in LRE and scant opportunities for acquiring new knowledge or skills necessary for quality implementation of the program. The state mandate holds the course in place, but it is a hollow shell of what it could be.

In closing, it is appropriate to allow the pilot teachers who have made LRE a labor of love to describe their perceptions of the prospects for LRE to continue:

> We know it is for five more years because we just adopted texts. There's going to be a wide variance according to the training teachers have had – if they have had any. I wouldn't want to teach the course without training, but a lot are assigned and they don't have a lot of choice. A lot of the original people are gone. One guy is an assistant principal. You can't mandate a course without providing training.
>
> Yes, it's here as long as the state says it's part of the curriculum. We've come to the age of accountability in teaching. If it's mandated, you have to provide training to show how not to lecture. Education courses don't prepare teachers for non-lecture situations. You'll always have people like _____ and me with an interest in it, and some way or another we will find a way to incorporate it. The materials have to

be interesting to students. You can have all of the other things and if students aren't interested, it's not going to last.

If it (the state) says you're supposed to do this and do this and do this, then that's what you are going to do. If the state capitol would say next year we're not going to do this anymore, we're going to go back and do U.S. history, then that's what most people would do and I would probably do it like everybody else, but I'd continually bring in all these other things (LRE). I wish people would do it like it's supposed to be done. You should do government first, then economics and criminal and civil to avoid problems with transfers. Me, _____, and _____, we like to do it. Some teachers don't like it. Some teachers are hung up on having a book, but I wish we did. Kids need a book of their own and they don't have one!

I suspect that somewhere down the road they will decide that kids need U.S. history. I think, though, because we participated in the program, that as long as there are teachers who were in the original program, they will probably talk more about the law than teachers who were not in the program. Past experience has shown that things can come and go.

The state mandate guarantees that a course will be around. State testing has helped all of our courses a great deal. To have a book that says these are the competencies that these children have to achieve by the end of the year—you're held accountable. We're all human. You know what I'm saying to you? There are some of us that have to be told that, but even for the good teachers, it provides some sort of direction. The fact that it's in black and white and the state is saying they have to learn this, you're accountable for it, it ensures that only through a course like PEL is the child going to be able to achieve the following competencies. That's why I feel that PEL is here to stay. They're unlikely to go back and revamp those competencies after all of that work. No way!

The state can only go so far. We can mandate courses. We can put them in the curriculum guides. We can test for them, but the locals have to come through in terms of doing local LRE programs. We worry a lot about staff change, but we don't have the resources to do anything about it. Here again, we have to convince the local school systems to do something about it. Locals get $100 per teacher from the state for staff development but most use it for effective teacher training; there's no social studies per se. We have to go beg from the locals [if we want to do training in content areas].

Text adoption and the state mandate keep it going. If it wasn't required, it would dribble away.

CASE STUDY: RURAL COUNTY

Demographics

Rural County offers a distinct lifestyle from that of the southern town that is found at its center. Small acreages provide space for large gardens, animals, outdoor play, and access to hunting and fishing. Homes – stately mansions, trim ranch-styles, inexpensive modulars, and aging mobiles – reflect a diversity of income and occupation. Residents of all income levels enjoy country life.

A significant portion of the population lives in one corner of the country to take advantage of a short commute to furniture and textile mills or related industries located in an adjacent city. Across the county, a zoo and an artisan colony make tourism a major economic activity. A new interstate highway will soon dissect the county from north to south, bringing new residents, increased urbanization, and – in the opinion of law enforcement officers – an increasing threat from drug traffic.

Social life has a strong family orientation. The phone book contains several listings for many surnames, suggesting that extended families are common. Many families can trace their roots in the county back for several generations. Part of the folk wisdom is to "never say anything bad about someone – they may be related to the person you're talking with." The trend to settle close to one's kin remains popular. School officials expect over 65 percent of their young people to remain in the community.

While there is a sprinkling of minority groups present in the county, blacks (7 percent) are the only group represented in significant numbers. Early Quaker settlers who discouraged the practice of slavery are partially responsible for the fact that the black population is below the state average.

Beyond the commitment to family, church, and country lifestyles, Rural County's identity comes from a county-wide school system separate from the town and a governmental complex that unifies the delivery of education and county services into a coordinated effort. The county's reputation for interagency cooperation is recognized among state agencies, and a cooperative school/community spirit is evident in several school programs. Unlike some other places in the state where the superintendent has worked, he notes that "this community defers to educators to make decisions. Some communities show interest in schools, but at the same time set up barriers to making change. I don't know a place where people are more interested in school than here. They are ready and willing to help." The case study illustrates several cooperative programs that provide a context for interaction with political, business, and legal community leaders.

The county is known for being fiscally and politically conservative and church-oriented: "We're an extremely conservative county. We let our constituents know exactly what we're doing." In terms of school funding, the county has the lowest per pupil expenditure in the state: "We have learned to do a lot with a little money." The schools are accredited by state and regional agencies and enjoy the support of the community.

The school district serves 13,000 students with 20 schools including four 9-12 high schools and 16 lower schools that have several types of grade-level groupings (K-3, K-5, K-8, 6-8, and 4-5) to serve a large and unevenly populated area. The distance between schools can be significant. As one interviewee described it, "It is possible to visit all 20 schools in a day if you don't stay long." The community is open to innovations that promise to improve learning. Currently, the district is moving to implement a middle school concept.

Students are grouped by achievement levels for instructional purposes. The high schools offers college preparatory, general, and remedial courses. Remedial classes are designed to help those students who are unlikely to pass the state's competency test and as a result will receive a certificate of

attendance rather than a diploma. A small percentage of students (about 20 percent) go to four-year colleges after high school graduation. Most of the young people (65 percent) remain in the county and enter the work force following graduation. Almost 30 percent of the students indicate they plan to seek advanced training through the local community college, which offers several types of trade-oriented courses.

The instructional leadership for Rural County comes from the superintendent; the associate superintendent, who directs secondary curriculum; and the director of instruction, who oversees elementary curriculum. Teachers on special assignment are designated for special tasks as needed. Much of the instructional planning involves tailoring, interpreting, and implementing state-mandated curriculum. Local leaders are very pleased with the advantages of a highly centralized state curriculum. They see a "grass roots" influence in the development of state programs. Under this plan, the state provides three-quarters of the funding for basic programs. Local districts must provide the remaining funds plus money for any "glamorous" projects they wish to add to the basic plan. Rural County has made a significant local investment in substance abuse prevention during the past year.

Current LRE Program

The current LRE program contains four distinct components, each with its own history, rationale, and features. The programs include (1) a law strand or unit in a yearlong, required ninth-grade social studies program, (2) an affective education drug prevention program (QUEST) that is integrated into the middle school health curriculum, (3) a law enforcement-delivered drug prevention program (DARE) that is added to the sixth-grade curriculum, and (4) a writing/training process for infusing law into the elementary social studies curriculum starting with the concept of authority in the fifth grade, where U.S. history, Canada, and Latin America are studied.

In addition to these specific programs, teachers at each grade level have state guidelines that encourage the integration of law into the K-12 social studies program at appropriate points. Teachers in Rural County have participated in training for infusing law in U.S. history and at least one teacher has expressed interest in teaching the new high school law elective that is a new offering in the state.

Two of the programs, the ninth-grade course and the fifth-grade focus on authority, are part of the state K-12 social studies curriculum. Leadership for the development of these programs comes from the state department of education and the regional office. State support comes in the form of mandates, printed guides, materials—particularly texts—training opportunities, technical assistance, and public funds to implement programs. The other two programs, DARE and QUEST, have been adopted in response to community and law enforcement concern about preventing substance abuse among youth. While not adopted under the auspices of law-related education, both programs have congruence with the strategies, rationales, and content of LRE. Neither program is part of the social studies program or state mandates; both rely more heavily on local support than do the programs that are part of social studies. Each of the four programs is briefly described below.

In terms of grade-level placement, the ninth-grade program is the "last organized emphasis" on LRE. The course, "Political, Economic, and Legal Systems in Action" was placed at ninth grade to provide basic citizenship skills and information to students while they are still required to be in school. (The district reports a 9-percent dropout rate.) The course was developed in 1983 under a state mandate in response to concern that students needed practical, basic information about our government, economic system, and the civil and criminal justice systems to be effective citizens. The course replaced U.S. history, "Civil War to the Present," a class that is now offered at grade 11.

The way in which law is taught within the course varies among schools and within departments, depending on the interests and training of teachers. Because law-related education is broadly

defined, there is diversity in both approach and content. In some schools, Scholastic's *Criminal Justice* and *Civil Justice* are used; in others, teachers rely on a state publication, *Youth and the Law*, that gives basic black-letter information about such topics as insurance, driving, consumer codes, and the juvenile justice system. Many teachers rely heavily on periodicals, teacher-made materials, and library resources to teach law-related issues. Some teachers develop a law unit, while others see law as synonomous with government and integral with economics. Teachers who use a unit approach may spend as much as nine weeks or as little as four on law-related topics. Other teachers consider law to be everywhere and inherently a part of every lesson they teach. Within this philosophy, a lesson on the elections or the stock market involves imparting important information about law (e.g., the SEC regulates the stock market).

The ninth-grade program also reflects the community's interest in providing a traditional basic introduction to government. A local Close-Up program, modeled after national and state programs, provides many ninth-graders with a one-day on-site experience with local officials. One hundred forty students are selected to attend one of the three seminars to learn about the political, economic, or judicial operations of the local community. Students participating in the legal component serve as the jury following a mock trial presented by a local attorney and have an opportunity for informal discussion and tours of the courts. The school has received donations from the community ($1,000) to pay for rental of the church, lunches, and transportation costs for this annual event.

The QUEST program is not yet a year old. The substance abuse prevention project was introduced into the curriculum as part of the seventh-grade health program. School counselors helped introduce the comprehensive program, which includes intensive teacher training, teacher notebooks, and student workbooks as part of a value-oriented approach to preventing substance abuse. The school system has signed a $20,000 contract with a private group for the necessary materials and training for the current year.

The program, while not adopted under the label of law-related education, is designed to achieve similar ends. For example, health and physical education teachers provide a series of lessons that help students see the need for rules in school and society and develop personal responsibility, decision-making skills, and refusal skills. In addition to learning responsibility to a group, students learn to participate in small-group tasks. The lessons can fill the course of study for a year, but are generally grouped into units and used within the yearlong health program. As part of the program, students plan and implement a community improvement project (such as adopting grandparents) through collaboration with community members.

The DARE program provides a structure for uniformed officers to present a substance abuse prevention program to intermediate-grade students. Rural County is one of 11 sites in the state selected to pilot this program through an initiative of the state police agency. In Rural County, the program is currently offered to sixth-graders but is not tied to any particular curriculum area. With funds from the sheriff's department, assigned officers provide students with "information about the law and assertiveness skills to help them resist peer pressure and form more wholesome friendships."

A graduation ceremony culminates the instructional unit. During the ceremony, attended by parents and other students, students present skits to demonstrate their new social skills and commitment to being drug-free. Materials costing from $.75 to $1.00 per student are also disseminated through the program. Through DARE, law enforcement officers work directly with youth to address problems that are not effectively addressed at other levels in the community. Currently, this program is funded at the state level by private industry.

At the fifth-grade level, social studies teachers are infusing law into the social studies program. Center for Civic Education material on authority is being used in conjunction with the state's basic education plan (goals, objectives, competencies). Teachers are currently building and implementing a concept-based curriculum. Ultimately, several social studies disciplines (history, geography, law, and economics) will be presented through a single, interdisciplinary course of study. In the case of law, fifth-grade teachers are presenting similar content as they did in the past, but placing emphasis on the concept of authority rather than presenting series of facts about U.S. history. They are using community authority figures (police officers and judges) to illustrate how authority works in a democratic society and in their local community. Teachers are also integrating the concept of authority into classroom management by involving students in rule-making and analysis of school rules, their origin and purpose.

Collectively, these programs provide specific opportunities for students to develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are consistent with law-related education. In the sections that follow, each component is treated separately so that the separate programs can be viewed in the various stages of awareness, adoption, and implementation.

Program Development: Awareness and Adoption

Some general observations can be made about Rural County's receptivity to law-related education. While the tradition of a state-mandated curriculum is a significant factor in Rural County's initial effort in law-related education, so is a strong local commitment to helping students understand the law. A school leader who can look back on 20 years in the district says: "We've always thought law should be a part of what we do. We really can't pinpoint a date or time that we started. It's always been important." School leaders keep in touch with members of the local power structure through personal relationships and mutual interest in political and civic activities. For example, several principals are active in Lions Club, a local sponsor of the QUEST program.

Rural County also has an opportunity to influence state programs. School and community leaders have been actively involved in creating "grass roots elements" in the state's approach to LRE through representation on the state LRE advisory committee. By serving in this advisory capacity, the superintendent, a teacher, and a member of the General Assembly receive information about projects that are designed at the state level and give advice to the state department of education about future directions and implementation needs. The two law-related programs that are a direct result of the state-developed social studies curriculum and training process are the ninth-grade law strand and the fifth-grade law infusion project. In both programs, state social studies specialists have taken leadership in identifying materials, experts, and training experiences that will result in sound citizenship experiences for students.

Ninth-Grade Social Studies

In 1983, the state curriculum committee made the decision to develop a new course for the ninth grade focusing on citizenship education. "Political, Economic, and Legal Systems in Action" replaced a U.S. history course, "Civil War to the Present" that is now offered at the 11th grade.

The approach mandated by the state calls for attention to law within a yearlong course. Currently one semester is spent on economics and the other on law and government. Teachers have a great deal of flexibility on how law and government are presented within the course. The definition of infusion also leaves much to the discretion of the teacher.

Rural County looked to the state department's regional office for leadership in implementing the new course. Teachers were initially skeptical about placing "dense but important" concepts at the ninth-grade level. They thought of the content in terms of a senior-level government offering and recognized the need for training if they were going to successfully adapt the course to younger students. Said one respondent, "At that time, teachers were hungry for new information, texts, community resources. The core of teachers worked very hard to get this course ready to go."

Ninth-grade teachers from Rural County and an adjacent county were provided three days of training to prepare for the new course. The mandatory training provided teachers with stacks of free material, lists of places they could contact for resource people and free materials, and demonstrations of interactive strategies. One respondent described the training as follows: "When the course first got started, we held a workshop for all the teachers from two counties. We spent time going over the prescriptions. We used a lot of Constitutional Rights materials—pro se courts, police patrol."

The teachers who participated in the initial training found that the training was very useful in helping them implement the new course. They were particularly pleased to have strategies and materials that enabled them to actively involve students in the study of law. One teacher credits the initial training with helping her use resource people more effectively: "No longer did I just bring them in. I combined them with a strategy." Another did not remember any particular materials that were modeled from the workshop held in 1983, but he continues to draw upon resource people and activities to reinforce the basic information that is presented in the text. The adoption of this new course was successfully accomplished with training for all teachers.

Elementary/Middle Infusion

Rural County is currently building a law strand into their fifth-grade social studies program through a curriculum writing/training project sponsored by the regional social studies coordinator. The project is part of the state's ongoing effort to insure the inclusion of law throughout the K-12 curriculum. In describing the rationale for the project, the regional coordinator explained:

> We think law is important enough to be included at every grade level. The infusion model gives more opportunity for students to learn about law in relationship to life and culture. There is not enough time in the day to do everything. It would be ideal, if we had a period for everything we think is important but the fact is that we need to interrelate subjects.

The plan currently being implemented with funds from the Governor's Crime Commission will result in infusion of lessons on law-related concepts into grades 4-8 throughout the state. The development model is effective in several respects. The process allows local districts to put a "grassroots element" into the state curriculum, it helps local districts adapt national projects to local needs, and it brings the state curriculum to life. The state sponsors projects like this so that the words on the 6,000-page document become more usable and personalized to teachers.

Center for Civic Education kits and resources on justice, responsibility, authority, and privacy provide the conceptual framework for the development. The design calls for five school districts of the 21 in the region to each select a law-related concept and a grade level for writing lessons for the social studies curriculum. Teams of teachers from each of five districts received training in law-related content and strategies, an overview of the state's Basic Education Plan as it relates to the project, and direction in writing lessons in a six-step process that is part of the "effective teaching" model adopted by the state. The lessons developed through the project will be edited and bound as a publication for distribution throughout the state.

By responding to the invitation to participate, Rural County is playing a significant role in this project. A team of fifth-grade teachers from the district participated in the summer training and from that experience has developed lessons on the concept of authority. The district's director of instruction sees the potential for significant improvement in the social studies program via the teachers' involvement in this training and writing. The value of this summer intensive training experience is documented in many positive changes that Rural County teachers have made in their teaching and curriculum planning as a result of participating in the workshop.

One of the improvements is in the way that history is presented by workshop participants. Teachers are moving from a posture of "covering the textbook" to teaching concept- and skill-based objectives. One teacher reports:

> The workshop taught me to use the concept of authority to organize what I had been teaching with that idea. I had been trying to teach about the Civil War, discrimination, and Reconstruction in a single lesson. I now see that the concept of effective authority can help me present questions and information so that there is more understanding.

Teachers who participated in the workshop are finding that rather than merely adding law to the curriculum, they are actually teaching more effectively and efficiently: "You don't have to add a whole lesson, but you present something you are doing with a little different angle. The workshop gave us ideas to help the concept come through." Using the concept of authority to organize their curriculum has made U.S. history more "practical" and has helped teachers and their students view government as a "part of our lives."

Teachers see opportunities to use the concept of authority throughout the course: "I've built authority into every chapter in the book." To give an example of how this is done, one teacher used the concept to help students compare different methods of government among Indian tribes in early America. Another used George Washington as the focus of a lesson on authority. Students analyzed the concept of "legitimate authority" by looking at the reason Washington thought a president was a better type of authority than a king. The students listed reasons that he didn't want to be king.

Teachers have also changed the way in which they establish and discuss rules for the class. One teacher described the impact of the training as follows:

> [It] made me more aware of class rules and more aware of my role as an authority figure. I've evaluated my own classroom management. I'm giving children a chance to have a say in the class rules. The class discussions that we have had about rules this year have made students more appreciative of the role of authority in their lives. Students appreciate order in the classroom, and the focus on authority has helped them understand and discuss this with adults.

Since the training provided suggestions for using resource people, many students have had an opportunity to explore their ideas with local judges and police officers. Several teachers who participated in the training have invited authority figures to the classroom to talk with students about their work and answer questions. One teacher said, "It was good for students to see a judge outside of court. Kids have been to court through custody hearings and neglect cases. It was good for them to look at law from his point of view."

The training was a critical factor in showing teachers how resource people could be built into their curriculum, as indicated by this response:

> The training asked us to do things that were helpful in this respect. We talked about the type of authority that we citizens want in our police officers. The guest presenter

followed with a list of qualifications that he looks for when he hires a new officer. We participated as adults, but we could see ways to adapt this lesson to any age student. _____ would say now how would you do this differently if you were in a fifth-grade class?

The training also provided teachers with a new lens for looking at textbooks. The director of curriculum has found that the teachers who experienced the training are more analytical about text materials. They are looking for concepts and opportunities to teach about law. The director of curriculum reported, "When we were looking at textbooks to adopt, references to the workshop came up several times. They learned that certain aspects of law should be included."

The training provided teachers with an understanding of how the state's Basic Education Plan and a conceptual approach to content could revolutionize their teaching. The recently adopted plan is a 6,000-page document that includes goals, objectives, and competencies. The state is currently printing copies to be distributed to all teachers in the fall of 1988. The 1987 summer training provided awareness of the document and prepared a cadre of teacher to help colleagues implement the plan when it is distributed.

The teachers who participated in the summer workshop received a preview of what is in the document and how it was to be used. Said one attendee:

> I hadn't heard about our Basic Education Plan. Sitting in on the training, I've seen how we can tie this plan into everything. The regional coordinator tore it apart and let people know what they should be doing. I learned that you can't cover everything in the text. I learned how to tie things together. Authority is one of the concepts that I'm using to sort through and organize facts. Within social studies, we had four or five goals. We are not dealing with every single person by name. I've taught straight chronological order in the past, but I'm no longer doing that. For the first time, I feel comfortable not covering everything in the book.

The shift in thinking about curriculum apart from the text is very exciting to teachers who participated in the workshop. Their enthusiasm was due in part to the opportunity for active involvement ("It was the fastest-moving workshop I've every been to"), but the workshop also addressed practical issues of organizing materials and concepts for instruction.

Consistent with the state's philosophy of infusion, the training did not focus exclusively on law. The regional coordinator also "showed us how we can integrate geography. We will look at why a region is the way it is. Next year, I'll integrate the Southern states with the Civil War and New England with the Revolutionary War." One teacher has integrated the study of authority with geography: "We can look at authority in other cultures – Panama, for example. Other nations have different concepts of authority. I teach the students that just because it's different doesn't make our culture right and theirs wrong."

QUEST

QUEST, one of the two Rural County law-related programs that has its roots in substance abuse prevention, had significant community involvement in the awareness phase of development. In the spring of 1986, the school district responded to an invitation to attend a QUEST introductory session that was cosponsored by the state Lions Club and the state PTA. A team consisting of the head of counseling and health programs, the associate superintendent, and a high school counselor represented the district.

The session began by telling the history of QUEST, Inc., a company that is headquartered in Ohio. The history centers on the story of a young man who successfully stopped using drugs and

has made a career of sharing with others the strategies that were effective for him. The film that followed the highly motivational introduction illustrated the social skills that students learn through the QUEST program. The film described how the program actually worked with students.

Steps for bringing the program to Rural County began during one of the breaks at this initial awareness session. The school district representatives met a captain from the Rural County sheriff's department and found that they had a mutually positive response to what had been presented: "We put our heads together during a break and talked about how we might implement the program. He thought there might be some state money coming down because the department had successfully completed some drug busts recently. From the school end, we thought of the fees, fines,and forfeiture fund as a source of income for starting the program." By working together, the group was able to obtain the $20,000 needed for materials and the training of 38 health teachers and counselors. Some of the funds expected from law enforcement were not forthcoming, but resources (fines and forfeitures) were found within the school district. The program is expensive, but a good match to the expressed needs of school and community.

The program attracted the head of guidance and counseling because "we saw the need for an effective education approach. We had gaps in our health program that we wanted to fill." Specifically, the leadership wanted a prevention program that would build upon a fourth-grade prevention program, a puppet show called "Zachary Dackary." The district had already identified DARE for the sixth grade and saw QUEST as an appropriate sequel to the instruction provided by law enforcement officers. The state coordinator for DARE reinforces this point: "You can't just give them DARE and forget about it. I would like to see a K-12 program."

From the community perspective, support for the program came from concern that drug dealers or users are increasingly present in the county. Evidence of the increased drug use was not cited, but the public wants to prevent any problems. Community concern is reflected in the words of a district prosecutor, who stated that "drug offenders are getting out of prison early because of the cap on numbers of people that can be held. We don't have the resources in the community to help them, so they continue to be a source of trouble."

Parents have supported the value-oriented approach to drug prevention that is provided through QUEST because they feel that the program will give their young people the wisdom and skill to resist the offers from the outsiders they fear will approach their children. In response to a question about the suitability of an affective education program in a politically conservative church-oriented community, one principal explained: "The severity of the drug problem is such that parents think the school is the place for students to get the skills." The community has the opportunity to help with the program. Local Lions Clubs have purchased materials for some schools. In others, community people work directly with students in the implementation of a project that will benefit the community, such as adopting grandparents or cleaning parks.

Following formal adoption by the school board, 38 teachers participated in the QUEST training at a cost of $350 per person. The training experience has many parallels with that of a quality law-related education training. Teachers were introduced to the content, participated in the lessons they would be teaching, and were given assistance with classroom management issues that would be required with the QUEST program. Teachers interviewed had high praise for the experience: "It was great. The trainer was dynamic. If the manual was just handed to you, very little would happen. The training was run just like the classes. We had energizers, taught mini-lessons; there were excellent ideas."

A counselor who participated in the program emphasized the self-knowledge and new friendships that came from the training:

> By the time you get through the training, you know more about yourself and the people who you trained with. Barriers between jock coaches and counselors were removed. They got you moving, meeting with different people. The tasks they asked us to do required a group effort. We really got to know each other. We shared things we would not normally share.

One teacher, a self-described traditionalist, has dramatically changed his approach to students when he teaches QUEST:

> I was in the army. Some of my colleagues thought I had marks on the floor where the desks belong. I'm organized and neat, so moving desks for QUEST used to bother me, but it doesn't anymore. It's worth it to see the creativity that comes from the lessons. I had done some group work in the past but not like QUEST. It's almost purely group work. The reason I didn't do anything like this before is that I was worried about being able to control things. I can see that unless you are a very dynamic teacher, QUEST could present some problems.

DARE

The DARE program's beginnings in Rural County are similar to those of QUEST. In this case, the state police raised $75,000 from private industry to pilot the drug prevention program that the Los Angeles Police Department developed to deter intermediate-grade students from participating in gang-related activities. As part of the pilot, 11 sites throughout the state were identified to participate. The state coordinator for the program indicated that "Rural County is an ideal pilot site because of the cooperative relationship that exists between law enforcement and the schools. Community and school leaders are receptive to working with law enforcement and concerned about drug abuse."

The same officer who worked with the Rural County schools to implement QUEST approached the schools to let them know of the opportunity to participate. The partnership he proposed involved law enforcement providing the instructor and the materials and the schools providing the students and the facility. Previously a teacher in Rural County, he had credibility with district administrators.

From the law enforcement perspective, the program has a sound rationale. The state coordinator for the program speaks for his profession when he says:

> Look, in the courts, substance abuse is responsible for 80-90 percent of the problem in our state. For so long, we've had an attitude that "my kids don't take drugs – this doesn't affect me." We've had this so long that the problem is out of hand – it's like a cancer. The community has realized that it's all our problem. Working together simplifies the plan of attack. In the past, we've been inadequate in talking with people about the problem. DARE gets the message to the people.

Through the program, the community gets a more positive view of law enforcement officers and law enforcement can work with young people in a context that is less adversarial than those most often available.

The training program for law enforcement officers is multifaceted. Professional educators work with the officers to develop teaching skills, to learn to establish rapport with teachers, and – most importantly – to learn new techniques for dealing with people. The training apparently involved some "unlearning and relearning" for seasoned officers. In describing how the training helped him to become more sensitive to the needs of young people, one veteran stated, "For sixteen years, I worked underground. I used to be a hard-nosed cop. This training gave me new ways of working with

people. For the first time, some people are looking at law enforcement officers as human beings. I learned about myself. I learned to be a teacher."

A Rural County educator who attended the graduation ceremony for the officers who were trained said she knew the training had been a moving experience because "so many of those big tough guys had tears in their eyes." The officers from Rural County who participated in the training have put their skills to use during the past year with sixth-grade students.

Adoption of the program was coordinated by the head of guidance and counseling. Teachers expressed some apprehension about the program. While not tied to a curriculum area, the instruction would take time from the instructional program that the teachers provided. Said one respondent, "The program came from the County Office. We were told that it wasn't an option. When I first saw the program, I thought about all the things I had to do in a year. We have a curriculum guide and there are certain things that have to be taught." These concerns have diminished over time, as the following statement indicates:

> Actually, fitting it into the time frame has not been a problem. I've moved some things around. I had to chance which things I put where. I used to save drugs for the end of the year because students are excited and the topic would hold their interest. With DARE, it's taught throughout the year. Today, for example, I needed a topic for writing stories, so I used "Peer Pressure." Kids were familiar with the term and immediately went to work.

Program Development: Implementation and Evolution

Ninth-Grade Social Studies

Law-related education in Rural County is more broadly defined than was perhaps intended in the state mandate. Based on teacher description of the course, the local program conforms more closely to the structure of a traditional civics course than it does to the concepts and skills that were modeled in the initial training. The district administrators and teachers are proud of the program and are unaware of the ways in which it falls short of current prescriptions for LRE. The course as it is implemented meets some important objectives. The students receive a strong introduction to government. They meet local officials, debate issues, learn important concepts about law, discuss controversial issues, defend positions, and develop pride in their community. To a large extent, the government book structures the content and the presentation of material. There is a strong and shared commitment to teaching about local government and encouraging students to vote, to knowing that they are constituents. Student opinions are valued in the classroom.

Little interest was expressed for teaching law as a separate unit. As one teacher observed, "Civics and law are inseparable. Infusion is what we do. There are many advantages to this method. Everything you do is tied to the law. No matter how you try, it cannot be separated." The traditional approach is meeting perceived student needs and is not seriously challenging the expectations expressed in the state guidelines. The national citizenship program that has been the strongest model and source of materials is Close-Up.

One component of the ninth-grade course, the local Close-Up program, inlays a much higher level of awareness and implementation than basic LRE. In speaking about this program, Rural County administrators credited their ninth-grade faculty with being cooperative and willing to do new things. In many respects, local Close-Up is a teacher-driven change. The program is planned and im-

plemented by teachers from each of the four high schools. One teacher described need for this component as follows:

> The format of our government book deals with the national and state level. We felt we were leaving our kids hanging because the local was being left out. Many students were staying in the county but didn't know how Rural County works on a countrywide basis. We hand out a flowchart of how things work and encourage them to use a county guide that is distributed by the county manager.

Principals have also been supportive of this annual out-of-school project. They encourage teachers to work with community leaders in planning the one-day program and in structuring classroom visits as well. The superintendent points out that "if principals don't want something, they can stop it. Fortunately, they share the teachers' commitment to this program."

Lack of awareness of LRE is one of the primary barriers to a more comprehensive implementation of LRE as it was conceptualized when the course was mandated. Many of the teachers currently teaching the ninth-grade course had different assignments in 1983 or were not yet teaching, so they did not participate in this initial training. In one school, none of the three teachers interviewed had any LRE training. All three teachers demonstrated knowledge of and interest in teaching government and politics.

In response to a question about how law is presented in his classroom, one teacher responded, "Government is a structure in which you teach law. National, state, and local are all interrelated." For this teacher, the term "law" was synonymous with government. He relies on his government textbook for materials and cited question-and-answer periods for guest speakers as a favorite strategy.

One of the teachers indicated that she would prefer to have a workbook to present law to the students. Another teacher was employing debate as a method to teach landmark cases, but was not familiar with any of the project materials that were available (some in her building) for student use. Yet another teacher used preparation of research papers on a legal problem (e.g., drugs, runaways) as a teaching strategy, reporting success: "This was law as close as they could get. The library books brought it home to them."

Use of these strategies is indicative of a lack of awareness of the strategies and materials modeled at the initial training. In fact, the teachers were unaware of LRE materials (e.g., *Lessons on the Constitution* and *Law in the Classroom*) that had recently been provided to their school at no cost with state funds.

The regional coordinator recognizes that some teachers lack awareness of LRE as it is defined in the state mandate and modeled in the training that has been offered:

> I ask teachers how much law they are teaching and they say they are working it in. For some it's brought out and touched on, not a strategy that is implemented or thought through. It just happens; its not a conscious infusion. But we are making progress. The course is required – it's in the title but it's got to be more than the book – law should be active and participatory.

The problem appears to be primarily one of awareness. The teachers interviewed were not avoiding LRE because they disagree with it. They simply have not had an introduction to such strategies as role plays, mock trials, case studies, or interactive use of resource people. They are unaware of recent research. Opportunities for training are available but not mandated.

In one school, the department chair has an indepth background in LRE and provides ninth-grade teachers with suggestions for presenting law. Since she no longer teaches the course, she has less opportunity to share lessons or resources in a collegial manner. A high turnover rate among ninth-grade teachers in her building makes the need for awareness a continuing concern. The department chair reported, "Some ninth-grade teachers have had training and some haven't. It depends on how much they want to get involved. There hasn't been any mandatory training since the initial implementation five years ago. I have involved many others in my building, but they have moved on. There are three new teachers in my building this year." The regional social studies coordinator also sees the need for more follow-through and stronger commitment to quality implementation: "For LRE, you've got to be trained. You need to be confident and secure to move away from the text – particularly if they will be dealing with gray areas of the law. Learning to ask 'What do you think?' takes special training for many teachers."

With a mandated course, the problems with maintenance and follow-up can be overwhelming. From the perspective of the regional office that serves 21 school districts, training is difficult to provide every year for every teacher who needs it. In the case of Rural County, six slots are available for workshops offered by the regional office. The teachers who attend may or may not have the interest or skill in sharing what they have learned with their colleagues.

The state has not employed a trainer-of-trainers model. In the experience of the regional coordinator, there is barely enough time in a day, two, or even three days to train teachers to implement new strategies or materials. More resources would be needed to help them plan training for others. Furthermore, some teachers are not comfortable training others. The coordinator described the problem as follows: "If they are not presenters, you can't turn them into one in a workshop. Many teachers say they would like to do a workshop if I will help them. I'm happy to do it if I can get around." With 17 districts out of 21 in the region without social studies specialists, demands for the coordinator's time are great.

The state has trained more people in LRE than any other state, but there are still problems getting information and training to the teachers. Sometimes teachers put workshop materials in their files and neglect even mentioning what's available to others. In contrast, other teachers return so enthusiastic about a new idea that they organize meetings over the summer or after school to pass on what they learned.

Getting teachers to the workshops can also be a challenge. The coordinator said:

> Part of the problem is money for substitutes. Usually, I offer the workshop and invite the systems to participate. Sometimes I offer and ask them to send people at their own expense. Some never send anyone; others always do. Most districts usually send teachers only when I cover the subs.

For workshops offered during the summer, the regional office usually covers expenses for travel (to a college 30 miles away) and meals.

Considering the range of responsibilities that the regional coordinator has – implementing all social studies at all grade levels – she has provided a number of outstanding LRE training opportunities for teachers new to the ninth-grade program, as well as teachers of U.S. history. Some type of program has been provided on an annual basis. This summer, for example, a one-day workshop was provided for teachers of the ninth-grade course; also offered were workshops for teachers of U.S. history and teachers who will be implementing the new high school law elective course.

There are many reasons that teachers do not take advantage of summer workshops. Some teachers find the workshop times and locations inconvenient, while others are very comfortable with

their current teaching methods. Many feel adequately prepared because they have a political science degree or "real-world" experience with politics. The teacher who organizes the local Close-up indicated, "I've had a lot of political science. I don't think I need it."

A high school teacher who sits on the state advisory board thinks that many teachers would be pleasantly surprised by what they would experience at an LRE workshop. Her preference for addressing the needs of teachers who are unaware of LRE would be through a countywide workshop similar to one that was held on economics. The required workshop was held during school time and included a nice lunch. The teacher recalled:

> The economists treat teachers very well. For that workshop, an announcement came from the state that you were to send your ninth-grade teachers. They knew that teachers would need it. When you have a mandated course, you will have new people all the time. You need a mechanism to show people how much easier it is to have a class that is issue- and activity-oriented. It would be best to do it on a county-wide basis for at least 20 people.

One of the implementation issues that is not clear is whose job it is within the district to see that teachers are trained or materials distributed. LRE lacks the coordination at the district level that it enjoys at the state and regional levels. It falls into no one's job description. The most qualified candidate for the role of LRE coordinator is the high school department chair who assists with regional workshops and sits on the state LRE advisory committee. She is knowledgeable, enthusiastic, and respected; as a teacher, however, she has no vehicle for effecting change beyond her school.

The personal preferences of teachers also are a factor in the commitment that teachers make to infusing law in the curriculum. Two of the teachers interviewed gave examples of economic concepts and materials in response to questions about law-related instruction. One explained, "I'm economics-oriented—I wrote that guide." The other explained that the mandatory economics workshop had been offered more recently and that he was more "fired up" about some of those materials and the workshop strategies that had been modeled.

Elementary/Middle Infusion

Because the elementary/middle infusion project is new, the implementation phase is barely underway. This process will begin in the fall when teachers receive their copies of the Basic Education Plan. Teachers who are enthusiastic and have successfully implemented the infusion of law into their curriculum will be a valuable resource in helping their colleagues make the transition to the new content and approach.

The process of implementation has actually begun. One participant indicated:

> I went back gung ho. We have 12 fifth grades in our school and five of us had been part of the workshop. We all sat down and talked about it. We have saved the last day of school when our paperwork is done to develop a plan for the coming year. During that day, we will come up with a plan for using the new book and the Basic Education Plan. People who didn't go will see what we've done and input their ideas.

The enthusiasm of this teacher for making changes has been effectively shared with other colleagues. As a result of informal planning and discussion, others have used role plays and other activities that she found successful.

The school district and regional office will each plan activities for introducing the law-related concepts and the infusion model to teachers. The regional office will provide copies of the lessons that

teachers from each of the five school districts have written, assist local districts in planning districtwide and school-level workshops, and offer regional training for those who are interested.

QUEST

During the past year, the QUEST program has become the seventh-grade health program. Some teachers were unreceptive at first because they saw the program as "just another gimmick." After using the materials, teachers report positive results with students, particularly in helping them understand their own behavior. Role playing and other strategies that encourage participation help students do more on their own. Said one teacher, "I started noticing a difference after five or six weeks. The quality of comments is different. Students show more empathy for their fellow students."

Since this was a health teacher hoping to use values to help students avoid drugs, there is a question of whether this can be called law-related education. In response to the question "What do students learn about law through this program?" the teacher thought for a moment and replied:

> The question is wonderful. They learn that we are a part of everything and everyone. What business is it of yours if someone gets into a fight or steals or takes drugs? They learn that what happens way over there is your business. Laws are made for our big family. QUEST students would be more likely to obey laws. They see that laws are made for everyone. They would have more respect for the rights of others. I think they would be more able to see the purpose for law than someone who goes through a traditional health program.

Such comments do not necessarily mean that QUEST should be labeled law-related education but do suggest that bridges can and should be built between these training programs and materials and those that are introduced through the social studies curriculum. The regional social studies coordinator sees the need for more discussion and communication about the correlation between the programs. She sees community and administrative support for the drug-oriented programs that would be beneficial to LRE: "How can we take advantage of these interests? If we would do a good job of developing the concepts of authority and responsibility through the state framework, perhaps we wouldn't need DARE or QUEST." She feels that if the program is viewed as simply drug prevention, it is not truly law-related education. She makes a strong case for looking at the law-related aspects of drug prevention and hooking those concepts to the curriculum guide.

The QUEST organization recognizes the need for follow-up in the implementation of their program. The format of their training, however, does not lend itself to building on the social studies framework or the infusion model. One of the teachers trained in QUEST explains the follow-through: "We get a newsletter that tells what other teachers are doing and an invitation to submit a contribution. There are also opportunities for advanced training. it's a continual type of thing. You are plugged into a network, but it all costs money." Rural County is in a position to consider how they can take advantage of the strengths of a "closed shop" program such as QUEST without diluting or detracting from state-mandated programs that have similar goals.

Rural County is planning to move the program from seventh to sixth grade next year. The move will avoid many of the problems that have been created with the block schedule that is part of the seventh-grade program. Some of the teachers support the move because they feel students should have the training earlier to prepare them for the peer pressure so common among middle school students. Moving the program to a lower grade level will involve some additional expenses and curricular adaptations. The chamber of commerce has requested information about the program and may provide some resources to support the implementation effort that is currently underway.

DARE

The officers feel that the program has been successfully implemented in Rural County. They are pleased with the response from students, teachers, and community because they feel they are making a significant difference in the lives of young people. Students approach them on the playground with problems, and they have been able to intervene in some situations as a result of relationships with youth (e.g., giving advice to a mother about where she could take her cocaine-using husband for treatment). The relationships that develop at school are not used as a source of information to arrest suspects. The police officers report that the program gives them a context for dealing with people in a positive way.

One limitation of the program is that teachers are told that they do not need to stay in the room during the time the police officer is teaching, thus limiting their ability to extend the instruction. From the teacher's view, the program is something that the law enforcement department does that is added to the program. One teacher interviewed did remain in the room during the DARE period – primarily to see that her children behaved rather than because she felt any connection to the instruction. The lack of teaming between resource people and teachers seems to be the major difference between DARE and programs developed as part of the ongoing LRE effort. The absence of formal linkages between the work of the police officer and that of the teacher limits the integration of the program into the ongoing instructional program.

Discussion

The Rural County case study provides a view of several important institutionalization issues. One of the issues that seems particularly relevant to the institutionalization effort is the role that a state educational agency can play in designing and initiating the institutionalization process. The mandating of law-related education throughout the K-12 curriculum has impacted Rural County programs in some obvious ways: LRE materials have been purchased with state funds for some courses and are available for all students, intensive training accompanied the implementation of new approaches to law (ninth grade in 1983 and fifth grade in 1987-88), and local leaders are included on state advisory committees. Furthermore, the state curriculum guide sets forward law-related objectives to be mastered by all students.

A top-down change model is not without its problems. The impact of the state mandate in this case study seems to fall short of the ideal in some important ways. First, high-quality materials that have been purchased with state funds are sitting on the shelf in some buildings while teachers rely on traditional texts and library materials. Second, the costs of providing the necessary training and maintenance activities may be prohibitive. In Rural County, five years after the initial adoption and training, many ninth-grade teachers lack awareness of what LRE is. Most of the teachers interviewed were not part of the initial training and have not opted to attend training offered during the summer. Teachers who have attended regional training on release time do not necessarily share what they have learned with their colleagues. The case study may point to a need for the state agency to find new ways to maintain an innovation following a successful implementation effort.

Another shortcoming of this change model is that ownership for programs perceived as a state responsibility is lower than that of locally initiated projects. The gap between the ideal program outlined through mandate and what is actually in place can be explained in part by a lack of resources to provide all teachers with training on an ongoing basis or by the lack of a mechanism for developing local ownership and leadership for maintaining high-quality programs. It seems that Rural County considers LRE a state responsibility and looks to the state to provide the basic program and the leadership for maintaining the program. Instead of using local funds to enhance the state-funded programs, local monies have gone to programs on which the local district and the community can put their name (local Close-up and the substance abuse programs). While it is probably difficult to raise funds for sending a teacher to an inservice for a required course or a leadership training

course for coordinating local programs, such an expenditure would probably have a more lasting impact on LRE.

A second institutionalization issue that can be analyzed through the Rural County case study is that of infusion. The district uses the state curriculum that calls for teaching law-related concepts at every grade level and expresses gratitude that the state social studies leadership has developed a framework for infusion, articulates a strong rationale to teachers, and provides training to make it happen. Yet, the view of infusion that comes from interviews with teachers veers from that which looks so good on paper. Few teachers of the ninth-grade course have a working definition of what LRE really is. Some think that their political science coursework eliminates the need for training in LRE. For many, law has always been taught as part of government and economics. In comparison with teachers interviewed at other sites, they lack awareness of LRE as a field distinct from civics and government. Because law is defined through general objectives as part of a yearlong course, the law experience of students is much more difficult to pinpoint—to see in action. Teachers have much latitude to infuse and few guidelines for how to do it. The law instruction reflects the perception of individual teachers about what law is. If law were treated more like government and economics—as a separate unit with discrete materials and objectives that are tested—the infusion process would probably be more effective.

The presence of locally funded drug prevention programs that include use of resource people, community action, and required training for teachers raises other questions. Should such local efforts be connected to the state funded law-related programs? Who will help the teachers make the connection between the two? Could funding for the two efforts be combined to develop a stronger program? Should the district have bypassed DARE and made an effort to extend the state-funded training to more teachers? Next year, the locally initiated DARE program will be taught at the same grade level as the state curriculum that emphasizes authority. Hopefully, state and local leaders will find ways to capitalize on the strengths of these two programs to develop a locally coordinated effort.

CASE STUDY: HERITAGE SPRINGS

Demographics

Heritage Springs (population 103,000) is an All-American City where people take pride in local traditions and work to maintain quality of life in an urban setting. Shaped by the industrial revolution, the cityscape is dotted with aging smokestacks and streets of row houses distinguished by the architectural styles of numerous decades. The habits of the Dutch settlers who founded the community can be seen to this day: "We tie our garbage up in strings so it looks like gifts before we put it on the curb."

The economy of the city is shifting from an industrial base – steel and manufacturing – to one that is based on technology and services. The business community, visibly interested in working with the schools to ready young people for future jobs, is investing money and time in partnerships to shape the educational program: "People care. People are willing to pay higher taxes if they know the product will be worth it."

Long-time residents have seen many demographic changes. Said one interviewee: "Fifteen years ago this community was lily white and conservative – there was not a liberal bone in the valley." The descendants of eastern European miners and Dutch farmers now live and work with people who have migrated to the area from inner cities and foreign countries. A new highway makes it possible for affluent people who work in New York City to live in the area. Many others commute 60 miles to Philadelphia. The minority population of the schools is growing at 3 to 4 percent per year. Currently, the student population is 70 percent white, 20 percent Hispanic, and 10 percent black. As one district attorney puts it, "We're not Smalltown, USA, anymore."

Local history is still regarded with pride, however. Citizens of Heritage Springs played prominent roles in the Revolutionary War (they hid the Liberty Bell from the British in 1777), as well as the Civil War. Many of the educators and community leaders interviewed are active in a civic organization dedicated to preserving a shrine to the Liberty Bell and the democratic ideals and patriotic values it represents.

Heritage Springs also takes pride in its progressive school system, the third largest in the state. Among its many "firsts in the state" – Heritage Springs was the first district to offer a gifted education program for advanced students (1924) and the first to provide classes for trainable mentally retarded students (1948). The school district's reputation for quality education is documented by its ability to attract 50 to 60 tuition-paying students from surrounding areas to its urban school system.

The district's 13,000-plus students attend 15 elementary schools (grades K-5), four middle schools (grades 6-8), and two senior high schools (grades 9-12). Schools vary greatly in socioeconomic makeup. The schools offer a traditional education stressing basic skills, although the curriculum can be adapted to the needs expressed by neighborhood schools. Approximately 37 percent of the students attend college following graduation.

The motto of the school district, "Where the Past Meets the Future," reflects the school district's interest in helping students appreciate the past so they will be better citizens in the future. Consistent with this philosophy, 12 years of social studies is required, including 3.5 units at the high school. A brochure about the social studies program that is provided patrons states that such a program is provided "as part of the school district's commitment to keep America strong."

Current LRE Program

Heritage Springs has a strong commitment to infusing law-related education into the K-12 curriculum as one means of promoting responsible citizenship, one of the "Twelve Goals of Quality Education" outlined by the state board of education. The state policy statement says:

> Quality education should help every student learn the history of the nation, understand its system of government and economics, and acquire the values and attitudes necessary for responsible citizenship.

The scope and sequence of the social studies program is outlined in curriculum guides for each grade level. Four-column pages provide the teacher with objectives, suggested activities, suggested materials, and evaluation strategies. Since students at the middle and high school levels are grouped (academically talented, average, slow learners), the guide encourages teachers to modify instruction for various groups of students. The one place where students are not grouped is in high school elective classes. Said one teacher, "You get a cross section in the law electives; however, the less able students are more likely to take law because the gifted students have so many things they want to take that they are limited with scheduling difficulties."

Citizenship is the key word that shapes the law-related program in Heritage Springs. The K-5 program follows an expanding horizons model, providing opportunities for students to learn about rights, rules, and privileges at home, school, and in community settings in which they participate. The JETS program, "Justice Education Teaching Strategies," developed in 1982 with state-level support, provides lessons in a "cookbook format." The lessons can be used as part of math, language arts, and other basics in all elementary grades. In some schools, all teachers have copies and select lessons that fit their teaching styles and units of instruction. In other schools, the program is provided by school counselors as part of their support to classroom teachers. Schools are not required to use the program.

Specific law-related experiences are listed in the grade-level social studies curriculum guides. For example, as part of community study in the third grade, a trip to the courthouse is listed as one activity. In the fourth grade, emphasis is placed on state government, providing an opportunity for teaching law and using law-related strategies as a formal unit of instruction. Teachers utilize the newspaper, a text, and supplementary materials of their choice to deliver this instruction.

Social studies instruction at the elementary level is provided in 20-minute blocks four days a week, with a 50-minute block one day a week. During the past year, some of the allotted time in every classroom has been spent on bicentennial-related activities.

At the middle school level, the eighth-grade program, American Citizenship, provides a strong emphasis on law-related concepts. The district scope and sequence guide for that grade level specifies *The Young American Citizen* (Sadlier-Oxford) as the primary text. Supplementary materials include *Street Law* as a teacher reference and the now out-of-print *Justice in Urban America* series. A variety of state and local resource materials and resource people (names, phone numbers, and agencies) are also specified in the guide.

All three units in the eighth-grade program – "In Our Democracy," "Our Legal System," and "The American Consumer" – provide opportunities for teachers to infuse LRE strategies. The guide calls for nine weeks of instruction on the legal system and 20 weeks on the government unit, leaving six weeks for the economic unit.

At the high school level, students can elect two semesters of law during their junior year, Civil Justice and Criminal Justice. The larger of the two high schools has two sections of law per semester, the smaller school only one. Students select electives on top of three and a half units of re-

quired courses – one and a half years of American history, one year of Western civilization, and a semester each of government and economics. *Street Law* is one of many sources of material used for the elective course. Others include a publication produced by the state – a statute book on criminal law – and teacher-selected media, mock trials, and exercises. One teacher commented that they have never had an excellent text for the course.

High school students also receive some law-related instruction in a required senior course on American government and, to a lesser extent, in the two required U.S. history classes. Teachers cite the newspaper and current events as primary means of infusing LRE into these two courses. Each high school entered an extracurricularly developed team in the state mock trial competition.

Law-related education in Heritage Springs is shaped by a strong tradition of involving the community in citizenship education. Commented one educator, "We want the community to know they are welcome. If we are to do a better job, we need their help. Various agencies are aggressively interfacing with schools." Ceremonies and celebrations are part of this tradition. Flag Day, citizenship awards, student day in government, essay contests – all bring citizens, particularly community leaders, into contact with students.

Program Development: Awareness and Adoption

A formal adoption decision is difficult to pinpoint because of several factors. First, the process of articulating law has been an evolutionary one, utilizing resources of a state department of education LRE project in the early seventies, a range of LRE materials with publication dates spanning several years, and, more recently, resources of the OJJDP-funded host site program based in a publicly funded law school. Components of the K-12 law program have been developed and revised periodically during the past 17 years. Apparently, law has been viewed as a way of enhancing citizenship concepts that have always been an important part of the curriculum.

Second, the district has not felt the need to clearly define law-related education as a distinct program with prescribed strategies and materials. As a result, some teachers distinguish between a unit on government and a unit on law, while others see law-related education as more encompassing. The latter group's definition of LRE includes much of what they do as part of their instruction about the three branches of government and the Constitution, as well as instruction about civil and criminal justice. Furthermore, the district social studies coordinator sees a real difference between the perceptions of secondary and elementary teachers: "When I ask high school people, they say they are teaching law, same with the middle school, but if you ask elementary teachers, they never say 'I teach law,' but they do. They don't use the label. They just think it's important stuff."

The question "How did law come to be part of your curriculum?" evoked vague answers from most interviewees. The social studies coordinator, who has been in the district since 1973 and in his current administrative role for two years, responded by explaining: "Seems like it has always been here. Maybe state law had something to do with it. We just don't call it civics anymore."

The longstanding tradition of civic education undoubtedly influenced how LRE was viewed by teachers and policymakers in Heritage Springs. A 25-year tradition of the community and schools working together to conduct an annual student day in government is one symbol of a longstanding tradition of involving the community in ceremonies and lessons directed toward increasing civic pride and responsibility.

A third factor that makes it difficult to generalize about the awareness and adoption phase for LRE is that law has been added primarily through infusion. As a result, changes have been made in a gradual, piecemeal fashion without requiring prolonged discussion, consensus, or approval by the

board of education. Furthermore, infusion gives teachers a great deal of latitude to select materials and methods without district-level discussion and consensus.

Much of the curriculum revision that shaped the infusion of law into existing courses occurred between 1978 and 1985. Based on the recollections of those interviewed, this development took place without assistance from experts in law-related education and without much awareness of materials developed by national LRE projects. Typically, the curriculum writing process involved a committee of four or five teachers sitting down together and pooling their ideas for a course. Said the coordinator, "I get the teachers together, help them get started, and leave. They'll do a good job because their name is on it." The guides produced by the teacher committees go to the board for adoption.

The development of the current eighth-grade program illustrates how change becomes formalized into the scope and sequence of the social studies program. In 1972, the district moved from a focus on state history to government at the eighth grade. A series of six books, *Justice in Urban America* (JUA), was purchased as the core material for the new course. By 1978, the teachers were ready for a change. One experienced teacher recalls the move toward a more traditional approach:

> That series called for an activity centered classroom. At the time, there was a concern about lack of structure. Too many of the questions were: "How would this make you feel? How would you react?" Many of us felt it needed more structure. Also the topics were inner-city-oriented (poverty, landlord/tenant), so it didn't fit our situation at that time. We wanted to move toward more emphasis on government. Students needed information about our system of government before they could understand the social problems of the day.

The curriculum guide that was written in 1978 retained JUA as supplementary material but built the guide to conform to chapters in the selected text – *The Young American Citizen*. In 1983 the guide was updated. The introduction to the guide explains that it "has been revised to reflect a truer representation of that which is taught. The committee has reduced the number of units to three without devaluing the intents or purposes of the course."

Little about the guides is prescriptive. Teachers are given time frames for various topics but have a great deal of freedom in selecting strategies and emphasizing objectives that seem critical to them. The eighth-grade guide states:

> As always, numerous activities have been suggested. By no means are you expected to have your students do all of them. Rather, it is up to you to select those which are appropriate for the class' learning style. Some of the activities may be more compatible to your methods of instruction than others.

The adoption of the high school elective could not be accurately traced. The most experienced LRE teacher indicated that when he started teaching the class in 1978, the course was mandatory for some and elective for others. Shortly after that time, state-mandated curriculum changes requiring more history meant that the civil and criminal justice course would be totally elective. The elective law course is organized in a curricular format similar to that of the eighth-grade program.

Some of the underlying reasons for the shift from law as a mandated course to an elective may be explained by local perspectives on the course. The teacher cited above thinks the course lost support because an emphasis on civil rights left over from the sixties and seventies created the impression that law was not important. He remembers:

> I found myself going against some of the current trends by dealing with responsibilities first and rights second. I think that's what really tarnished the name of law-

related education. The civil disobedience movement led some to think the connotation was demanding rights without any civic responsibility. To understand our rights, we have to understand our responsibilities. Knowing both of those things, we can take a serious look at civil disobedience. Understanding both aspects of citizenship, then we have choices to make.

The elementary curriculum guides for social studies were revised in 1985. As with the secondary curriculum, the teachers are provided many suggestions for doing law-related activities. The actual use of the guides is left to the discretion and leadership of the building principal, whose role as the instructional leader is clearly established.

The JETS program, first introduced to Heritage Springs in 1982, provides a case study in how awareness and adoption were handled at that time. Teams of principals and teachers attended a dinner meeting. One principal recalls: "It was an outstanding presentation. People were all hyped up about it. It was more than an add-on to the curriculum." His school served as a pilot site for the curriculum.

Program Development: Implementation and Evolution

Just as it is difficult to establish a date for when Heritage Springs was first introduced to LRE, it is equally difficult to determine a structure for discussing implementation issues. While some of the points made refer to events prior to 1986, that year marked significant changes in the program. An experienced LRE teacher became the social studies coordinator for the district, and the district accepted an invitation to participate in the state's OJJDP host site program. This coincidence of events provided a timely opportunity for renewal of the LRE program. The social studies coordinator recalls that one of the first things that he did when appointed to his position was attend a training-of-trainers workshop: "The district made a big commitment to renew LRE."

Training. To a large degree, the new coordinator has used the host site experience as a springboard for refurbishing existing courses, K-12: "The [host- site program] has much to do with how we train. We have a district team that is trained and in turn, we train others. We modeled our local conference after that which was provided for us." In recalling the local team's experience at the initial training, he stated: "We drove down to the conference together – a district attorney, female judge, and a representative of the law league. We sat together as a team and had some quality time to work together. We couldn't hide from each other. As a result of the conference, we are a team."

Personal relationships have emerged among team members. The coordinator recalls: "As we rode together, we found ourselves talking about sports and our kids' soccer teams as well as juvenile delinquency. Since many of them have offices right across the street, I see them often. Being on a first-name basis with resource people is an unanticipated benefit of the project."

In replicating the experience for local teachers, the team designed a one-day conference, with a major goal being the building of relationships on the local level to correspond with those that had resulted among the local training team at the state-level event. The training accomplished its purpose. Following demonstrations of lessons that resource people could conduct in the classroom and a tour of the jail, teachers enthusiastically asked resource people to come to their classrooms. The response was, "We've been wanting to come."

The local training was judged by the participants to be very successful: "Many participants said it was the best workshop they could remember. They received good materials and had an opportunity to interact with resource people. What's more – people actually followed up. Judge _____ has an ongoing relationship with people at _____ school."

The training garnered support from the community: "District funds were spent, but the law community also supported it. They provided lunch and we did breakfast and picked up the costs of substitutes. The training received press coverage as well. There was a big splash about our training in the daily paper."

The state project's modeling of teaming and partnerships introduced the Heritage Springs team to new terminology and a team approach to training. Recalled the coordinator: "We've been doing this a long time, but we never thought of it as a partnership. People now see that they'll be invited back. As a result of the training, we thought of what we were doing in a different way."

The social studies coordinator has also taken leadership for other types of training. During scheduled district inservice days, he has offered a two-hour training on the JETS program. On these inservice days, teachers select training that interests them. By the second JETS workshop, people had to be turned away. Although pleased with these successes, the social studies coordinator worries: "I can't possibly train all 600 teachers. Particularly elementary teachers need an awareness that they are doing many good things that fit the criteria of a good LRE program." His perception of a need for training is confirmed by others. At a school that piloted the JETS program, the principal perceives that "teachers are using bits and pieces of the program but lack the initial commitment. That was six years ago. New staff people don't know about the materials and didn't experience the training."

The district does not have a structure for systematic training. The director of secondary education indicates: "It's difficult to provide time for training. You can provide substitutes. We've been generous with release time and we hire teachers at $15 an hour, but we need to be more aggressive with our approach." A complicating factor in planning for districtwide training is the new superintendent's belief that if change is to take place, it will happen at a building level. He has decentralized many decisions and resources to support this type of change.

The coordinator does respond to requests to meet with teachers in individual schools to plan units or help them identify resources. Eighth-grade teachers look forward to occasional informal sharing sessions that are held partially on school time, partially on their own.

The training-of-trainer model has made an impact on the team that attended the host site program but has not yet worked its way into the teacher corp. For the most part, teachers sign up for the conferences they are interested in attending. Said one interviewee, "Some go to many and others to none. For the most part people select those that interest them." When asked about how ideas are shared from conferences, many teachers indicated that participants had "the opportunity to let others know what they had learned." One department chairman expressed the need for something more to happen after a conference: "Teachers need to know the thrust—the overall goal."

When asked about the ideal training, teachers in Heritage Springs expressed a range of preferences. Some are tired of inservices where they learn from other teachers. They want outside experts to come in. One teacher puts it this way: "Hire people you can respect because of their expertise. I won't give my co-teacher a harsh evaluation. He may be OK but it's not the same as the expert of my choice. We can't invite experts in for the $16 an hour that teachers get paid. They need an honorarium."

Teachers have other standards for a good training. They prefer a pleasant environment away from school, realistic time frames ("more than the five minutes we give students between classes"), and an opportunity to work in groups in which they feel comfortable. Most important, said one teacher, was to "make it voluntary."

One high school government teacher observed: "Most of us are not interested in new methods. It's the materials that we're most interested in." He commented, "A presenter at a recent workshop [National Security] broke us into groups to demonstrate a lesson. That was not as well received as the morning lectures. We went through that type of training years ago. We all have our own style that we feel comfortable with—what we need is content we can take to the classrooms." In contrast, an eighth-grade teacher indicated that she would be most interested in an inservice that would give her some new ideas on how to present criminal law. The same teacher looks forward to the grade-level sharing meetings: "You can't help but get new ideas when we get together."

Infusion. One issue faced when infusing law-related education in required courses is whether the quantity and quality of instruction are sufficient. Not only are many different teachers involved in the implementation, there may be many different ideas about what it is that is being infused. Time was spent asking teachers and administrators in Heritage Springs such questions as, "What does law look like within a government class?" "How do you know if teachers are following the curriculum recommendation?" "How important is it for teachers to have consensus on a particular set of experiences that students have in a given course?" Responses from everyone interviewed on these points were fairly uniform. Teachers have a great deal of ownership of the curriculum guides ("The curriculum represents the best ideas of all four middle schools"), which they believe "provide opportunities" to develop lessons that match teaching and/or learning styles. Teachers perceive and value the fact that the guides are used individualistically.

Teachers adhere to the content objectives listed in the guide but do not see particular methods as a necessary part of law-related instruction. The LRE prescriptions—particularly those related to interactive teaching methods—have not yet made their way into the curriculum or the beliefs of the teachers.

One teacher who has an activity-centered classroom supports the teaching of law through a student-centered classroom: "You need to look at your end result--we want active, productive citizens. There are many ways to get there." Teachers who are more comfortable with a teacher-centered classroom support the need for teachers to utilize methods of personal preference: "The idea of prescribing how to teach is questionable. My method is to walk around the room and talk loud—Yet I have a reputation as someone who can relate to kids. It's who you are as a human being that counts. Give me the materials and let me present it the way I want." He went on to explain why he avoids small-group work and simulation games: "These strategies are just not effective for some kids. Some do most of the work. Kids go off task too easily. I'm liberal in my thought, but I'm a realist."

Middle school teachers were more likely than their high school counterparts to cite activity-based LRE lessons. On the day of a visit to one school, students in one class were interviewing an aide who had just completed jury duty on a capital offense; the interview was to air on the school's morning news show. Another classroom was preparing a mock trial with the help of an outside resource person. A teacher at another school agreed: "It's exciting to see them apply what they've learned to the situation at hand. It's great when you can say 'They got it today'."

Teachers stated that administrators are not thinking about infusion issues when they evaluate teachers. A high school assistant principal described the difficulties of monitoring and maintaining the integrity of an infused program—particularly as it relates to strategies. He has a problem with courses that are built entirely around a text and sees the need for something in writing that says we have evidence that teachers are doing what they are aiming for. Yet he says, "I would resist a rigid systematic approach to maintaining a program. I have faith in my staff." As this administrator thought about the issue, the idea of a checklist seemed to have potential for solving some of the difficulties. The checklist he conceptualized during the interview would include "things that must be

done" and "things that should be done." The checklist could serve as a guide to the teacher as well the administrator.

In many ways, the checklist approach would mark a change in the district's message to teachers about what is meant by infusion. Currently, teachers treat the curriculum guide like a catalog from which to order those things they like. Because of the way in which the guides are presented to teachers, they feel a great deal of ownership of the curriculum and feel trusted to make decisions about what and how to teach. One teacher reported, "If I'm going to do the work, I want to make the choices about what I'm going to do. I don't do much with economics chapters, for example." Actually, once the guide is given to teachers, they stand alone in terms of making decisions about implementation.

Undoubtedly, the district commitment is to a broadly defined law program. Consensus regarding the need for a flexible, open-ended approach was expressed at all levels. Infusion is actually reaching beyond the social studies in some instances. At the time of the evaluator's visit, one of the two high school law elective teachers was offering a class on the U.S. Constitution to teachers from all curriculum areas. After working with science, home economics, and language arts teachers, his perspective is "Don't do anything to narrow LRE. Lots of people are doing it but don't recognize it. The education is being offered even if it is not called that." This teacher feels that if law is defined narrowly—and on paper—people will say it doesn't apply to them. In response to a question about how the district would know if it has the program it wants without defining that program, he conceded that a broad-based definition of LRE might enhance the district's approach.

Administrators also see danger in setting out too many requirements for a particular program. "We don't want to do something that results in law being put in a box," was the comment of a high school principal. Central office staff concurred: "We don't want LRE to be reduced to a weeklong program."

The social studies coordinator is aware that teachers need direction: "They need to know what they are doing and why, but we are not going to tell them how to do it." In response to a question about suggested strategies being described very briefly (e.g., "debate," "flowchart," or "role play search and seizure of a locker"), he explained that teachers know that they can come to him or colleagues for more specific ideas or for materials that are not in their buildings. He is also available to model strategies in classrooms or observe and critique lessons upon request. One of the high school law teachers has collected a huge file of materials that he is willing to share. One middle school teacher summed up the situation by saying, "There's support to do things right but no repercussions if you don't." One teacher whose daughter had "only the textbook" in the eighth grade wishes that a little pressure would be applied to see that all teachers involve resource people in the classroom.

Others conceded that integration of new materials and strategies can be very difficult. Some cite time as a problem. The teacher who had recently attended a national security workshop liked the materials provided but said, "I'll really have to squeeze to get it in." At the eighth-grade level teachers indicate that economics is most likely to be the topic that gets shortchanged.

Another limiting factor was learning how to integrate new materials with the text. Said one teacher, "In the beginning I used the text far more than I do now. I started with a few resources but realized over the years how much choice I have." Another teacher with 27 years of experience commented, "I'm doing so much, I can't work anymore in." He did pick up a new mock trial at a recent conference, however.

Eighth-grade teachers seem pleased with their text as material that makes law "infusable." The book lends itself to use of outside material. Said one interviewee, "It's great because it presents the

basics and provides opportunities for teachers. Those who are more task-oriented can use the workbook. Those of us who like field trips and resource people can build those in. I could teach law all year. No one complains about this book like they did *Justice in Urban America*."

Elementary teachers are looking for materials that can be easily slipped into the curriculum. One observed, "You want things that are easily adaptable. You don't want to spend the equivalent of a semester developing a unit – particularly if you are working on other subjects as well. You want something that can fit the allotted time and will actively involve students." Elementary teachers reported sorting through boxes of materials on the Constitution. The lessons and projects most often cited as having been implemented had to do with making a classroom constitution. Teachers usually do something with rules at the beginning of the year, so it was easy to put that activity in the context of the bicentennial.

If materials are used as an indicator of what is being infused as law-related instruction, the newspaper heads the list as the most popular type of supplementary LRE material: "It's a textbook – no question about it." A high school government teacher thinks "current events is the most common way that law is infused in both government and history. For example, when we get to Watergate, we'll talk about invasion of privacy." Two law-related topics that everybody covers in government are the Constitution and the courts. Again, the newspaper provides articles to help "frame such issues as stop and frisk." The newspaper is used primarily as a means of "tying the past and the present to students' lives."

Teachers rarely cited the newer national project materials as being used. One teacher used *Update* magazine; another used to get *Bill of Rights in Action*. Teachers were more likely to mention locally produced materials, such as the school's student handbook, statistics from the local police, or a teacher-produced exercise. *Scholastic* Magazine is also used.

Teachers are interested in seeing more new materials. One observed, "I wish I were on more mailing lists and received more book samples. Teachers would even pay out of their own pockets for some materials."

Resource People. Use of the community in the LRE program is a very successful feature of Heritage Spring's approach. Every teacher interviewed had used resource people during the year. Some teachers draw directly from their school's parents for speakers: "I always ask parents to suggest people to use in the program at back-to-school night." One elementary school has formalized the process by maintaining a Parent Resource File. Using the file, they have found lawyers to help students prepare a mock trial for back-to-school night and a former state legislator to help with a mock hearing. The social studies coordinator observes that "The more creative teacher will take the initiative to invite the speaker. Most teachers will cooperate if someone else will handle the red tape."

The social studies coordinator fills an important role by serving as a go-between for teachers who do not know resource people to invite to their classrooms. The coordinator reports:

> My job description gives me the time and resources (phone and secretary) to make those contacts. Using resource people effectively is harder than we think. Lawyers have more respect for teachers than teachers have for themselves. I tell them [teachers] you are more important than you think. I haven't had a "no" in the two years I have been setting up contacts. In fact, resource people are now initiating calls.

The community resource people have responded very positively to the district leadership's invitation to participate. As one lawmaker/banker puts it, "Partnership is a buzzword these days." He finds that cooperative projects have payoffs for business as well as schools. Rather than purchase canned

programs from national associations, he promotes the development of locally produced programs. He worked with the social studies coordinator to develop a slide-tape on banking, for example. Local people featured in the program are invited to the schools, thus getting a chance to find out about the concerns of the community they serve. The local district attorney agrees that time spent with students on mock trials and debriefing actual cases enriches his professional skills: "I find it educational to see perspectives of the larger community. When I worked on mock trials, I found it interesting to see what kids thought the issues were. In my job you need to have your fingers on the pulse of the community. It helps me think about what arguments will be most effective."

Both men appreciated the opportunity to work with students in interactive lessons. They recognize that teachers go to some effort to plan the type of lesson that really catches student interest. While they see it as the teacher's job to set up the lesson and tell the resource person what to do, each one described specific, effective lessons they have prepared. Said one, "I'm not a big one on lecturing. I like community-based lessons where I can talk with students about what they are seeing in our courts, and I like setting up fact patterns that represent issues that students deal with in their daily life."

The former legislator cited above described a lesson in which he used a hypothetical bill for raising the driving age to illustrate how a conference committee would work out differences between the lower and upper houses of the state legislature. He believed the lesson was much more effective than a lecture.

Many teachers mentioned field experiences as a key part of using the community. Information about such trips was often provided in response to questions about types of interactive lessons used with resource people. One teacher reported, "Last year we had the police officer come into speak, but this year we plan to go to the police academy and have a tour as part of the lesson." Trips to New York, Philadelphia, the state capitol, Europe, Washington D.C., and such local sites as the police academy, courthouse, and city planning office were referenced in various interviews.

Special Events. The Heritage Springs school district has a long tradition of integrating special events into the ongoing program. The district picks and chooses from many programs. More than 1,100 students participated in an essay contest on the Constitution. Other projects are more enduring. The Law Day program and mock trial will continue as ongoing projects. The mock trial is an extracurricular activity at both high schools; local law firms provide some financial sponsorship as well as coaching. One school even has a junior varsity team that attends the meets and takes notes in preparation for the coming year. Student government day also receives financial support from the schools and the community. At the moment, History Day is receiving a great deal of attention: "It's an opportunity to showcase something important. We sent 438 kids to the regional. Each year it seems to get bigger, so we're trying to avoid the problems that killed the science fair."

Principals have no problem with special events and play an active role in securing release days and coverage as needed. One principal justified this position by saying: "They don't drain resources—they motivate teachers and students."

One elementary school used the Constitution as a theme for their annual open house. In each room, students were involved in an activity that showed what they learned about the document. In one class, students studied the preamble, wrote one for their classroom, and then illustrated its meaning with slides of kids in different situation. One class put on a mock trial; the parents served as jurors. The principal was uncertain as to whether any of the lessons would make their way into the ongoing curriculum: "That's up to the individual teachers."

State Policies and Testing. State-level curriculum decisions seem to have had a somewhat negative effect on law-related education in Heritage Springs. In particular, changing requirements for

social studies reduced the high school law class to elective status and, because of the increased number of required units (3.5 units), severely restricted student opportunity to complete many electives. Heritage Springs is proud of its elective program but realizes that its future is not assured. The board of education has questioned the cost-effectiveness of courses with small enrollments. The director of secondary education explains that the district often tries to run two levels of a course because "it's difficult not to group by ability. Scheduling problems make electives vulnerable."

Heritage Springs' law program is influenced in some ways by state-mandated testing of reading at the elementary grades and by other types of tests at the secondary level. One elementary principal feels that JETS has had to take a back seat to the "more academic" program: "We have to report reading scores, so we have rearranged what we do. For law, we have no requirement saying 'we are doing this now.' We do have law week." A second elementary school used a different set of state tests as a needs assessment that resulted in more emphasis on government (and the open house special event described above). Since this school has a large population of high SES students, the principal is less concerned about reading scores.

Two high school teachers – when asked "How could you insure that law is included in required courses?" – responded by suggesting that one way would be to test it or at least to review the tests teachers give to see if they think it is important. None of those interviewed, particularly at the elementary school, where the reading test is already a pressure point, advocated testing as the way to improve programs.

Collegiality. Teachers in Heritage Springs do look to each other as a resource of new ideas: "We do have much latitude so we probe each other to get new ideas. We know who is strong on a given topic and we can easily get to them." The eighth-grade social studies teaching staff is small (ten teachers) and stable, so it is easy and comfortable to call someone and ask for clarification on an idea. Collaboration at this level is common, with the most typical type of collaboration being the sharing of speakers. As with many other aspects of law-related education, teachers see collegiality as an opportunity available to them.

One middle school teacher credits her fellow teachers with her professional development: "If you can be with someone who is more daring, that helps you take risks. It sets standards. I worked with people who had the the attitude 'This may not work, but let's try it'." A new teacher orientation program makes collaboration more systematic.

Leadership. The efforts of the social studies coordinator and involvement with the host site program have provided Heritage Springs with a new direction and renewal for their LRE program. The qualities that the local leader sees in the director of the state host site program – "She's energetic, likes people, believes in what she's doing, uses the expertise of others" – are equally applicable to him. In looking for districts to work with, she tried to identify a district where there was a key person "who was knowledgeable, enthusiastic about LRE, and had some power to make things happen."

The social studies coordinator has been very successful in the major goal that he set for renewal – improving the use of resource people in the classroom. He has successfully modeled training that met the expectations of the host site coordinator: "lots of materials, good interaction, and opportunity for follow-through."

As one of the few social studies specialists in the state, he fills a leadership role for many other social studies programs. In addition to developing a Danforth-sponsored global education team, he also works with the state geography alliance. Many groups want his time and attention.

Discussion

Among the institutionalization issues that deserve further analysis in this case study is the question of how to develop a working definition of what is to be infused and secure teacher buy-in to see that it happens. Heritage Springs is illustrative of a program that is only as secure as the expertise and interest of the teachers who are teaching the required courses. Given the large number of places that law is currently being taught, it might be useful to focus on one or two places where the teachers would be most receptive to moving a little further toward building a program that reflects the research about quality LRE.

Based on the interview data, the middle school program probably provides the largest window of opportunity for infusing new materials and developing a set of learning outcomes that reflect skills and attitudes as well as content.

This case study shows OJJDP host site funds at work. The impact of training is clearly seen in the efforts of the local team to plan a training and help teachers use resource people in new and effective ways. The state coordinator is concerned about how she can provide the level of support needed in Heritage Springs and the other nine sites that she worked with during the past year and still complete "spade work" with new districts.

The rebuilding of a program does not occur in one year. Will the momentum of renewal continue in Heritage Springs? What types of support can best be provided by outside change agents? Can the social studies coordinator and his team continue to make LRE a high priority? What further training would best serve the local team?

CASE STUDY: EASTLAKE

Demographics

Eastlake is a small school district; incorporating two counties, five townships, and one major town. The total population of the school district was 17,411 in 1980. The school district grew 36.3 percent from 1970 to 1980; the district's planning data projects that it will grow to 23,300 persons by 1990, an increase of 74 percent. Population is unevenly distributed with the greatest concentration in the extreme southeast corner, in and near the town of Eastlake. The southern county accounts for 15,686 of the 17,411 people in the district.

The growth in the district's population has been affected by its location. The school district is situated along the eastern border of the state, contiguous to one of the east coast's most heavily populated metropolitan centers. The town of Eastlake is on an interstate highway that connects it to the business and commercial centers of the neighboring state.

The growth and changing character of Eastlake's population were noted by several respondents as factors in the adoption of an LRE program. They indicated that the changing character of the population was caused by an influx of people from an urban area: "The problems are coming from the city. City and country people are different. We now have a different type of people."

The total school enrollment for 1986-87 was 2,848 students distributed among three elementary schools, one sixth-grade center school, one junior high, and one high school. The sixth-grade center, junior high, high school, and administrative building are all located in the town of Eastlake. The district enrollment has grown by 9.2 percent between 1982-83 and 1986-87.

The school district employs 193 teachers, 158 of whom are tenured. A message from the superintendent, printed in a district publication, suggests that the school district has experienced problems of increasing class size due to an inadequate number of staff, inadequate classroom space, and increased enrollment. The goals described in his message to the staff included developing a systematic five-year construction program and establishing a class size of 25 students.

Less than one percent of the students enrolled in Eastlake schools are minorities. The districts five-year projections indicate that the ethnic composition is not expected to change: by 1990, only 138 of the 3,122 students are expected be minorities.

Of the 11 teachers interviewed (a principal, the district superintendent, a participating attorney, a probation officer, and the state law project coordinator were also interviewed), a high percentage had some role or district function in addition to their roles as teachers. One person was the elementary social studies coordinator. One was the social studies chair at the high school. Two were grade-level representative to the social studies curriculum committee, and one hopes some day to be an administrator. At least one had been involved with writing the curriculum in the summer. One teacher has an administrative certificate. These observations about the respondents' other roles may help explain their responses to the questions.

Current LRE Program

The writing team hired to write the LRE curriculum for the district was instructed to provide an LRE "strand," K-12. The result is that the elementary planned course of study (curriculum guide), which is reviewed every five years, contains a unit on law-related education at every grade, along with standard offerings such as "Careers" and "Map and Globe Skills." The planned course calls for units varying in length from a three-week mini-unit at sixth grade to daily lessons of 35 minutes each in grade five.

The intention of the LRE strand in the elementary school curriculum is to "enable students to function as responsible and accountable citizens." The methods that are suggested include discussion, oral reading, presentations from outside authorities, films, role plays, simulation games, field trips, and brainstorming. Each unit also includes a section for resource people. The list always contains categories of appropriate resource people (e.g., "police officer") and often includes the name and phone number of a particular resource person.

The Justice Education Teaching Strategies (JETS) materials developed by the the state department of education are the standard text used in the elementary school curriculum. The goals of the JETS materials are to promote and maintain positive student attitudes and behavior, to give a more positive but realistic view of law and people who administer the law, to assist students in understanding their rights and meeting their responsibilities to help insure the safety and welfare of self and others, to increase knowledge of civil and criminal law, and to increase knowledge of procedures used by police officers and other criminal justice agencies. One teacher observed that "these materials need to be rewritten"; there was no elaboration.

Another teacher mentioned the availability of LFS materials through the Basilica University LRE project.

A separate publication distributed by the district contains all the LRE units in one document. It has a cover letter from the assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction at the time. The letter suggests that LRE is not only a vital link in the social studies curriculum but that it is a curricular program that is expected to reduce delinquency:

> The roots of delinquency are often noticeable by age twelve....Hopefully, this law-related program will build the students' conceptual and practical understanding of the law and legal process. The course will provide the foundation for improved citizenship skills, ability to work within the legal system, understanding the basic rules, and favorable attitudes toward law enforcement people.

The 1984 planned course contains a section entitled "Law and Government Strand." The strand is described as a "required segment for all students in grades 7-12. This strand will be integrated with all the basic courses."

The content of the "strand" includes the Constitution, the criminal justice system, and the civil justice system. The programs are to be evaluated in a number of ways, including through the EQA test from the state.

The methods suggested are lecture and discussion, use of films and filmstrips, mock trials, study of historic legal decisions, and case studies. The materials listed are *Law in the Classroom: Activities and Resources* (SSEC, 1983) and *The Methods Book: Strategies for Law-Focused Education* (Law in American Society Foundation, 1979).

A semester course for seventh grade, called "Law and You," was instituted in 1986. It was written by two junior high teachers hired specifically to teach law-related curriculum. The administration waited for a couple of teachers dedicated to the seventh-grade geography course previously in place to retire, then hired these two men and introduced a new course. It has been very popular and was expanded to one and a half semesters in 1987. One of the teachers of the class expressed hope that it could be expanded to a full-year course.

Within the past year, a new elective course has been written; it will be taught at the 11th and 12th grades next year. It is a one-semester LRE course that will be taught by a tenured social studies teacher. Staff are hoping that it will be a popular course.

Program Development: Awareness and Adoption

In 1984 the school district did not perform as well as staff had hoped on the citizenship portion of a state-level evaluation, an assessment of 12 measures of "educational quality." They examined their curriculum and discovered that the reason the students did poorly on the assessment was that the district was not teaching the material being tested. Recognition by the administration that something needed to be done to improve student performance created fertile ground for LRE to fall upon.

In 1985, the assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction (who soon thereafter became the superintendent) heard about LRE from a fellow superintendent. He reported that his colleague tried to sell LRE to him on the basis that "it was innovative." The assistant superintendent was not convinced that being "innovative" was sufficient reason to get involved, but did contact the state-level program at Basilica University to get more information. He wanted to know what the intended outcomes of LRE instruction were and what the program could actually deliver. After learning what the state program had to offer, he determined that LRE could be a means of meeting Eastlake's citizenship needs as defined by the state's Educational Quality Assessment. He also found out that the Basilica University program was looking for pilot schools in the state.

It is not clear whether the superintendent talked with the elementary and secondary social studies chairs before or after he talked with the board, but he did not commit anything to the University until he had clearance from the board and support from the chairs. The school board was concerned that the district's involvement would not mean additional staff.

The superintendent and the secondary social studies chair attended an awareness workshop at Basilica. Their exposure to the program convinced them that it would meet their needs and that they wanted the school district to participate.

Upon returning from this workshop the superintendent contacted a respected judge in the community, sending him material about LRE and talking with him at length about the program and the need for resource people. The superintendent gained the support of the judge, which made it easier for him to contact others in the community and ask for their support.

With the training experience and community support, the superintendent strongly recommended participation in LRE to the board, which approved the program.

Program Development: Implementation and Adoption

The superintendent talked with the elementary social studies chairperson, who then asked for volunteers to work on a summer writing program. The total inservice budget from a state grant was made available to pay the summer writing team. The writing team was to develop an LRE "strand" for each grade level, K-6. As part of their summer work, all writers attended an LRE workshop sponsored by Basilica. Some potential community resource people also attended the workshop. When the curriculum was written, the elementary social studies chairperson provided inservice programs for each elementary school. At these workshops in the spring of 1986, teachers were told they were to begin teaching the LRE material the following year.

At the secondary level, full implementation was delayed due to personnel matters. The assistant superintendent was waiting for two people to retire before he installed new curricular programs. The retiring teachers had been in the district a long time and had an investment in the seventh-grade geography course that was to be replaced by the new law curriculum. Two people with LRE experience were hired to develop and teach seventh-grade law courses. At the time of the interviews, a senior high elective in law was being developed and is now in place.

Strong Leadership. It would be difficult to overstate the importance of the superintendent in the story of LRE in Eastlake. His initiative and influence were significant at every stage of growth of LRE. Throughout the interviews, the superintendent was repeatedly referred to as the main actor and the critical force in the instigation and implementation of the LRE program.

The superintendent was well known and well respected throughout the district. He is a native of Eastlake and a graduate of the Eastlake schools. He has been an employee of the school district for 33 years. He received his bachelors degree from Eastlake College. He carried out his student teaching assignment at Eastlake Junior High. With the exception of one year of teaching in another city, he has spent his entire career in the Eastlake schools as a teacher, teaching principal, principal, director of elementary education, assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction, and finally as superintendent.

The superintendent is also very active outside the school district. He is the state president for the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development and is a member of the ASCD board of directors. He has worked on a number of state committees for the state department of education. For example, he was the chair of the committee that developed the state needs assessment program and a member of the committee that developed the state's new curricular standards. He is also a member of the state advisory board for the Basilica University Law-Related Education Project.

The fact that the superintendent took a personal interest in the project and exerted a considerable amount of effort to inform himself and then inform and gain the support of the social studies chairs was critical. He was also in a position to gain board support, allocate funds and staff time to the effort, and ensure that LRE became a part of the latest revision of the curriculum. His understanding of the informal power structure of the community and the school district were instrumental in his effectively installing LRE.

The superintendent's high level of interest and involvement resulted from a combination of factors. First, the state assessment indicated a need for improved citizenship instruction; the superintendent's commitment to these state standards may have been the result of his participation in their creation. Nonetheless, this commitment played a part in the process. A second factor was the superintendent's familiarity with research evidence indicating that law education deterred delinquent behavior. His belief that delinquent behavior was on the rise in his community due to the changing population added further impetus. The superintendent was an advocate of community participation in the schools—an important part of LRE programs. He commented, "I sensed that the [legal community] was looking for a project to become involved in this area. We wanted partnerships." He also indicated that he believed schools needed to bring people into the schools and that partnerships were needed to build "strong programs." These three the factors combined to create receptivity for LRE.

The reason for selecting the Basilica program in particular was, in part, timing. He was looking for something, the Basilica program was seeking participants, and its characteristics seemed to fit with his perception of his needs and desires. He was impressed that the state project seemed to have a firm grasp of their project and there was a strong support system available from the state. Furthermore, many resources were available, and the program was flexible enough that he and his staff could make it theirs. He commented several times that the informal discussions with other, more experienced participants at the first workshop he attended were important in helping him overcome the feeling that the project was "overwhelming."

A small school district combined with a well-liked and respected home-grown superintendent in this case resulted in expeditious installation of the program. It is a luxury to have a superintendent, who for reasons unique to this situation, was able and willing to devote so much personal attention

to program implementation. Many of the necessary transactions leading to adoption and implementation of the program were face-to-face conversations that resulted in gaining support. The conversations with the school board and with the social studies chairs are two examples. The conversations the superintendent had with the local judge were also characterized by similar informality.

The teachers who spoke about the superintendent described him as a no-nonsense sort of administrator who always did things "with good reason."

Expectation that Curriculum Will Be Followed. None of the teachers who were interviewed were teaching the LRE material to the extent that the planned course suggests. There was a discrepancy between the superintendent's view of the curriculum (which was consistent with the planned course) and the teachers' views. The teachers reported practices that ranged from not doing the LRE curriculum at all last year to teaching an LRE unit at the beginning of the year and then returning to it as appropriate during the year.

When the superintendent spoke of the curriculum, he said, "It is a requirement – you will do it." The superintendent talked about the the planned course as a description of things that one was required to teach. Yet the teachers all reported that they enjoyed a great deal of flexibility in how much, how often, and in what fashion one taught LRE.

Two factors seem to be at work in this discrepancy: (1) teacher's perceptions that they have too much to cover already, and (2) failure to communicate expectations clearly.

The teachers explained their casual use of the material by saying that LRE had been added to the curriculum but nothing had been taken out, making it difficult to cover what needed to be covered. One teacher said, "Let's face it – we are driven by the tests. So if the end of the year is coming up, we will cover what is going to be tested." A common response was voiced by a fourth-grade teacher: "When will we be able to do this? The day is only so long."

The superintendent and his assistant superintendent for curriculum reported that they had addressed the problem of what to take out and that things had been removed to make room for the new material. The assistant superintendent for curriculum made a special point in the interview of pointing out that these hard decisions had to be made and Eastlake had made them. Yet only one teacher acknowledged that she "admired them for taking out the newspaper unit." Another teacher said that "they never take anything out they just say it is optional."

Virtually all the teachers at the elementary level complained that the curriculum was too full already. The fourth-grade teachers were particularly sensitive to the fact that the curriculum had more than could be covered. One teacher said, "I wouldn't do a complete [LRE] program." Some teachers saw LRE as material to be called upon when some event on the playground or in the cafeteria called for discussing rules and authority. Most of the teachers believed it would be best to deal with the LRE material in a discrete unit at the beginning of the year when they were discussing school and classroom rules.

Perception of Need. Several respondents suggested that LRE will persist because in this day and age, "it must." They were referring to the increase in crime resulting from changes in the district's population, which they believed made a program like LRE a necessity. They also reported that serious misbehavior is appearing at younger and younger ages. These people see the curriculum as a solution to a problem. A teacher who voiced similar concerns and hopes added that parents are not doing their job to teach children "good values and the consequences of not following good values." She saw it as the schools' responsibility to pick up the ball in this area. This factor seems to be paramount in making LRE an attractive innovation for Eastlake.

This "law and order" orientation has a second dimension. Many teachers use the materials as they relate to specific events in the school. What they described were occasions when a problem with obedience arose on the playground or bus. These teachers found it useful to pull out the LRE material and do a lesson related to authority figures, for example. One teacher said that she was using LRE materials in "homeroom where lunchroom, playground, and bus behavior is discussed. I don't know how it would be if we used it the way it should be used." Other teachers thought that the curriculum would work well at the beginning of the year when they were introducing school and classroom rules. In 1988 a Citizenship Week was established in the district. The LRE unit was taught during the week. Over 31 attorneys visited classrooms in the district, discussing issues found in the LRE unit.

Many teachers saw value in the curriculum because it combined social studies content with a means for increasing their effectiveness in classroom control. It is a rare unit that can provide both content and a means for control. This observation was further reinforced by those teachers who observed that if some of the teachers who were not using the curriculum could just see how it could speak to their "citizenship need," they would become users of the materials: "It would make their life much easier."

Teacher Support. Throughout the interviews, teachers who used the LRE material claimed that it works. This statement was often followed by, "The kids love it." The seventh-grade social studies teacher said, "It was a hit from day one. The eighth-graders miss the activity and interaction of the seventh grade." Another teacher said, "It is a fun program. I look forward to doing it because I can see it's working. You must see changes—even the specialty teacher sees changes [in the student's behavior]." Another teacher reported receiving positive feedback from parents.

A third-grade teacher and self-proclaimed cynic described the attraction and the fear in using the strategies of the LRE curriculum:

> Look for motivation—are they interested?—Are they interesting?—thinking, using logic? What they loved about it was debate. It made thinkers out of them....If they don't care about this unit it will fall flat on its face because it so wrapped up in the way they respond and way they want to take part in the role playing and the this and the that and the other thing.

Elsewhere she observed that some teachers may be uncomfortable with the freedom and the "lack of control."

One teacher spoke succinctly of what many others had suggested: "If there aren't good guidelines, you'll just put it aside." Another teacher commented that there were lots of resources that made LRE easy to teach. One could use the LRE materials with very little preparation.

Although no one said that the strategies in the LRE curriculum were antithetical to their own several indicated that if it conflicted with their views, "I don't do it." Leaving the textbook and becoming involved with processes as much as with content require a particular mindset about schooling and the role of a teacher. It is not clear that this mindset has been internalized by all the Eastlake teachers.

Training and Follow-up. Although the teachers generally found the workshops and inservice programs interesting, there were several who found then less useful in getting started teaching. Some suggested that perhaps the first contact should be familiarization. Then, a follow-up workshop could deal with the how-to-do-it questions. Another teacher suggested that teachers should experience the strategies as students before they use them as teachers, a training technique that might help in the resocialization of teachers.

The inservice program was also not well articulated. One teacher couldn't remember whether or not there had been an inservice on LRE. Another said that the inservice consisted of sitting around with her colleagues sharing strategies. If consistency is a goal, better communication of expectations at training is needed.

Top-Down Change Model. There is no question that innovation in Eastlake takes place from the top down. There were also no indications in the interviews that people resented the fact that the superintendent was the person who originated innovation. Although there were some comments about the need for someone to make decisions that will get people to change and one reference to the administration's confronting people who "would then go along," a general feeling of good will seemed to prevail between teachers and the administration and among teachers.

The fact that two respondents believed that the LRE materials had originated with a committee or with a teacher who "went to a conference" indicates that although the superintendent was the source of the innovation, he has managed to stay in the background when it comes to implementation. When the superintendent returned to the district after attending the Basilica workshop, he immediately put the matter in the hands of a writing committee, who were paid to work over the summer creating the specific curriculum for the district. The effect was that teachers did have a great deal to say about just how LRE was to be instituted. The superintendent also provided teachers with other kinds of support. He sent them to workshops, brought in resource people, and generally provided the funds needed to develop the program.

The size of the school district, in conjunction with the unique nature of the superintendent, may contribute to this cooperative and congenial atmosphere. Starting with the superintendent's conversations with his social studies chairs the work of establishing this curricular change was done on a face-to-face, informal basis. The judge the superintendent went to see when he returned from the conference was a personal friend. Teachers reported that there were many occasions for discussing the curriculum with other teachers informally, as well as in the district's formal committee structure.

Shared Educational Philosophy. The interviewer's question about whether teachers and administrators shared a common philosophy may have been irrelevant. Most respondents side-stepped the philosophy question by talking about how much independence everyone had. For example, one teacher said, "We have freedom to do our own thing." A junior high teacher said, "The sky is the limit; if you can sell it, you get a shot at it." Another teacher said, "Everyone does it their own way, but they would all be able to recognize a good teacher from a bad one."

Many of the responses indicated that teachers believed they had the autonomy to teach the way they wanted so long as they met the objectives of the district curriculum. Under these circumstances, a common philosophy is not needed for harmony to prevail. Further support for this view is found in the unanimous perception that there were no conflicts during the adoption and implementation phases. Had teachers and administrators been forced to agree that everyone do the same thing, it is likely that differences in philosophy would have surfaced. Everyone agreed that law-related education was important, but there were many different views about how it was to be implemented.

Individual Ownership. The extent to which teachers were involved in the development, creation, or implementation of the curriculum seems to impact heavily the extent and intensity of their use of the LRE curriculum. For example, one teacher reported how intently she examined the materials because she was responsible for "selling it to her fellow teachers." Factors such as inclusion in the writing committee, attending conferences, and having responsibilities for dissemination were all factors that seemed to increase use of the materials.

Tradition of Innovation. "We're always writing curriculum around here" were the words of an elementary teacher who had volunteered to work on the LRE curriculum. What she meant was that

the planned courses are reviewed every five years, resulting in rewriting curriculum to fit new textbooks and changing needs. The district seems to have a well-used organizational groove into which curricular changes move easily from idea to inclusion in the planned course.

Although there were differences of perception among various respondents, the superintendent believed that Eastlake was a pretty innovative district because it has a number of programs that other school districts in the area do not have. Regardless of whether people saw the district as innovative or not, they were unanimous in their praise for how successful innovations had been. They agreed that there had been few, if any, failures and that innovations were thought out and researched before they were brought to the faculty.

Community Resource People. The use of resource people has been identified by research as critical to the success of LRE programs. Using resource people has also been an aspect of the program that has appealed to teachers and students. If the respondents' answers are indicative, however, resource people are used less than might be expected. Several teachers talked about the need to use resource people more next year. When pressed about why they don't use them, teachers cite a variety of reasons. Some believe that it is too time consuming to get a hold of the people and make the necessary arrangements. Others believe that the resource people are too busy. Interviews with resource people suggest that they are more willing to participate than teachers imagine. Some teachers reported that the use of resource people and films required that teachers be well organized and plan ahead. Increased inservices that help teacher understand how to get and use resource people may help.

An attendant issue regarding resource people has to do with status. Although it was never mentioned explicitly, the association with the law profession and such "important people" as judges having high public visibility is an added attraction of the program. One teacher expressed feeling sympathetic with the police, who she feels suffer from the same unwarranted abuse that teachers experience. The state coordinator was the only person who actually suggested that lawyers and judges going into classes and saying "we are educators, too" is a plus.

There are also those who believe that a program that involves that many important people in the community is not likely to die. However, there was no indication that any public pressure had ever been brought to bear on any administrator to have an LRE program. Whether such pressure would appear if the program were in jeopardy is unknown.

Role of the State Agency. The state coordinator is an employee of Basilica University. He works out of the law school's Legal Aid office. Both an attorney and a teacher, he is part of the law school's LEAP project.

Eastlake's participation in the Basilica program coincided with Basilica's moving from a program focused on the City of Liberty where Basilica is located to a statewide program. This move was made possible by a $10,000 grant from OJJDP in 1985-86. This first-year grant enabled the Basilica project to find and serve ten school districts. The following year the project had a grant of $53,000; they now serve 31 school districts. Next year, they plan to expand to 40 school districts. The statewide effort is only a part of a total law education effort to which the law school seems committed.

The services provided by the statewide LRE effort include:

1. Conducting awareness workshops around the state.
2. Conducting training-of-trainers workshops for school district leadership personnel.
3. Publishing a newsletter twice a year.

4. Sponsoring and executing a public/private partnership conference.

5. Publishing a juvenile justice manual for middle schools.

6. Conducting inservice workshops for the state department of education.

7. Conducting awareness workshops in the participating districts.

8. Maintaining a network of people and participating districts.

In the opinion of the state coordinator, the law school is committed to the project as a part of its public service function. The project seems to provide a positive image of the school. He also believes that having the project housed in a law school rather than a state department of education is an advantage. The prestige that the law school carries gives the program weight. This prestige is enhanced by the fact that many public figures in the state are judges or attorneys who sometimes participate in conferences and workshops. Another advantage he sees is that he is freer to do what needs to be done. He is not bogged down in the bureaucracy of the state and the "educationese" of their publications. He also claims that the lawyers and law students who go out to the schools are well prepared and highly motivated.

The disadvantage is that the project is outside the school network. The coordinator must work harder at making the right contacts and selling their product in a variety of ways at conferences and workshops around the state. His style of getting people involved is to contact people referred to him as being receptive, keeping the project before the education community, and responding actively to those who express interest.

In addition to providing lots of support for participating schools, the coordinator asks that each school be willing to commit funds, inservice time, and personnel to the effort and that they work together to establish an action plan for curricular change. The primary criterion for participation is that the district commit to "doing something—we want to see some change and improvement at some level."

Although Eastlake moved very fast in implementing their LRE program, the state coordinator believes that bringing about change in a school district in one year is unrealistic. He complains that the funding agency's requirement that so much be done in one year to obtain continuing funding is a negative. He would prefer to be able to tell a district that they have two years to develop and implement a plan.

Discussion

Without exception the respondents agreed that the materials were clear, easy to use, very flexible, and required very little extra work on their part. The superintendent was most concerned about quality issues; however, he did not define what he meant by quality, except to say that he thought the materials were "well researched." The teachers judged quality on the basis of student interest and changes in student behaviors. The range of ways that teachers reported using the material is an indicator of its flexibility.

The district has had a successful history of innovation and a superintendent who has been a spark plug for innovation. It appears that all the innovations the superintendent has initiated have been in response to specific and identifiable needs. He was very much opposed to innovation for the sake of innovation. The superintendent also made sure that teachers were involved in the development of the program and that there were dollars available to help implement it.

The staff of the district is changing. New staff will be coming in greater numbers. These new teachers will find the curriculum already in place but will need an effective inservice program to implement the program themselves.

Relations within the district are cooperative and congenial, but communication and monitoring are less than perfect. This breakdown in communication has resulted in an LRE program that is different in nearly every classroom—yet it is a program that is very popular in the district.

One of the problems with monitoring may be due to the apparent lack of a significant role for principals, who are supposed to be central to monitoring in the district. One elementary teacher said that her principal didn't know what she was doing. A secondary teacher who had had three principals in as many years believed that principals were largely irrelevant in the functioning of the classroom. Yet principals are supposed to be responsible for reviewing the teacher's plans and checking them against the planned course, a step that might bring more coherence to the program.

LRE in Eastlake is in no danger of disappearing in the near future. It is in the planned courses, and new courses are being developed. Personnel are being hired specifically to teach law materials. The superintendent has been behind the program from the beginning and has continued to support it by sending people to conferences, hosting a regional LRE conference at Eastlake, and making his staff available to other districts.

If the respondents at Eastlake have an accurate picture of the situation, however, it is not at all certain that LRE is, in the words of the interviewer, "cemented in." One teacher suggested that in order for LRE to continue in the school district, it will need continuing administrative support. If this is an accurate assessment, then LRE is definitely not institutionalized in the same sense that U.S. history is. On the other hand, it was generally agreed by all respondents that LRE will be around for at least five years because it is written into the social studies planned course, which will not be reviewed again for five years.

It seems that LRE is institutionalized in a bureaucratic or organizational sense. That is, it is part of the handbook, it is included in inservice programs, and it is part of the state assessment. Institutionalization at the individual teacher level is another matter. Those who use it estimate that between 50 and 75 percent of the teachers do use it; the others are not using it. Even among those who definitely do teach LRE, there does not seem to be a districtwide view of just what is intended. When pressed to discuss strategies, the respondents left the impression that teachers were free to teach the way that felt comfortable to them.

Others believe that LRE will persist because a corps of teachers is committed and will spread the word. It may well be, however, that the factors that contributed to the rather expeditious installation of LRE into the curriculum can also be factors that contribute to its eventual disappearance. The face-to-face, informal process by which the superintendent could quickly move from an interest in LRE to having it written into the curriculum could also be used to replace it with something else. However, since citizenship is one of the 12 goals the state requires be taught, the superintendent believes that LRE in some form will remain in Eastlake.

V. DISCUSSION

This section discusses selected observations derived from one or more of the case study investigations. The criteria for including any observation in this section were: (1) that it was actually observed or was actually reported by local LRE program participants during the field research; (2) that there was some fit (even contradictory) with the most current research and thinking with respect to institutionalization; and (3) that, in the "collective wisdom" of the research team, the observation seemed to have relevance to the National Training and Dissemination Program or for the LRE field in general.

Therefore, in addition to the selected observations from the case studies, readers will find discussions of relevant research literature. In each subsection, we have tried to indicate the research base upon which the research team relied throughout the investigation and which led the team to attach significance to many of the specific observations that follow. The research on institutionalization is rich and increasingly mature. It is, nevertheless, mute with respect to some of the specific concerns of LRE. As a result, the significance attached to some of the following observations is based on the informed judgments of the research team.

Nothing in this section should be construed to be prescriptive. These observations, inferences, and discussions of other relevant research are intended to sensitize LRE practitioners to some of the issues and processes they may encounter as they seek to disseminate, implement, and institutionalize LRE programs. Some of the specific observations highlighted here may not have analogs at other specific sites. In fact, some of the observations from the case study sites seem contradictory, suggesting that each school district is, to a great extent, *sui generis*. Yet there were many commonalities across sites and many observations validated other research on planned program change and institutionalization. The results of this study should therefore alert LRE advocates and practitioners to general issues, trends, cross-currents, and angles of attack, serving as an atlas of, if not a specific road map to, institutionalization.

LRE PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

Discussion of Observations

Three components of LRE programs – curriculum materials, use of outside resource persons, and high-visibility cocurricular events (e.g., mock trials) – emerged from the case study research as important. Each seems to have implications for LRE program implementation and, to a degree, program maintenance.

The LRE materials used in the case study sites were perceived by teachers to (1) be of uniformly high quality; (2) generate high student interest; (3) be generally easy to use; (4) require little preparation time; and (5) be flexible. These characteristics tended to facilitate teachers' initial implementation and subsequent continuation of LRE. Teacher interviews also suggested that some teachers, especially those highly committed to and experienced with LRE, modified LRE curriculum materials to better suit their own and their students' needs. The results of such modification seem to have been mixed: in some cases the modifications were beneficial; in others they were less so. Respondents at some sites perceived a dearth of certain types of LRE materials, particularly those geared for middle schools.

Teachers in all the case study sites have used, and generally continue to use, outside resource persons. Information on the manner in which resource persons were used was not gathered by the field researchers. However, the frequency of use varies considerably from site to site. The case study research suggests that a number of factors influence the use of outside resource persons. On

one hand, teachers tend to use outside resource persons more frequently if they personally know the resource persons. On the other hand, several perceived constraints tend to vitiate use of resource persons: (1) the time required to recruit and prepare them; (2) fear that resource persons are too busy; (3) increased preparation time in general; and (4) lack of centralized mechanisms for linking teachers and resource persons. Despite these constraints, teachers across the case study sites use resource persons with regularity.

The case study research produced one anomaly of note with respect to the use of outside resource persons. At one site, respondents reported that the use of resource persons declined over time. These teachers reported that they used resource persons less as they became more familiar with LRE content and felt less need to rely upon outside resource persons for content expertise.

In some of the case study sites, high-visibility events such as mock trials, Law Day, and police ride-alongs tended to generate enthusiasm for LRE among students, teachers, administrators, and community members. Among some of the respondents, these special events were mistakenly perceived to be *the* LRE program. In some cases, the payoffs from such events seemed to outweigh the costs of time and resources involved in conducting them. In other cases, the trade-offs calculus was less clear. In several cases, some LRE program participants perceived that without school district support and coordination for such events, the costs for teachers might soon outweigh the benefits, and the special program(s) was likely to decline if left solely to teachers.

Discussion of Research Base

A sizable body of research has consistently confirmed the importance of high-quality instructional materials for successful program implementation and continuation. Aoki et al. (1977) found that teachers reported that the lack of high-quality materials was a major barrier to program implementation. Simms (1978) and Kormos (1978) reported similar findings when teachers were given course outlines but lacked instructional materials to implement them.

Research related to the National Diffusion Network suggests that "well-articulated adoption materials which...are complete, well-organized, comprehensive and detailed" and which consider practical, teacher-oriented concerns are most effective in promoting adoption and implementation (Emrick and Peterson 1978). In a similar vein, Doyle and Ponder (1977-1978) stress that instructional materials must pass the test of the "practicality ethic" of teachers or the materials will not be used. House (1974), Stearns, Greene, and David (1977), Campeau et al. (1979), and Horst et al. (1980) all suggest that many innovations failed largely because teachers found the materials to be impractical, time-consuming, and difficult to use. Fullan (1982) concludes that "many innovative efforts have suffered from the lack of high-quality, practical, usable resources."

Research in educational change also suggests that teacher adaptation of instructional materials, whether of the highest quality or not, will occur. In fact, some early work in this area suggested that the adaptation process was crucial to program continuation because it generated a sense of ownership among users (Berman and McLaughlin 1976-1979). Huberman and Crandall (1982) also found that local modification was widespread and that many of these changes had a "watering down" effect. Nevertheless, they discovered that fidelity to the original innovation was higher than previously thought. In addition, Huberman and Crandall found that when teachers had a "respectable" product "and follow-up assistance was adequate," there was little discernible difference in practitioner ownership between locally-developed and externally-developed programs.

With respect to use of outside resource persons and high-visibility events, there is little direct research on similar topics. Yet the research on institutionalization is not mute in this regard. For example, Wolcott's (1973) discovery that non-curricular, public image issues ("what does my school or

district look like to the board or the public?") were a major focus of principals' time and energy may help explain administrator support of high visibility LRE events. Administrator support may be high in the case study sites because of particularly strong community support and involvement in these events and because the costs to administrators are low when compared to the benefits they perceive.

Teachers seem, however, to have other concerns. The work of Werner (1980), Fullan (1982), Huberman (1981), and Loucks and Hall (1979) found that teachers tend to analyze innovations in terms of the trade-offs between the benefits or rewards the innovation might provide as compared to the costs in time, energy, and threats to their established practices. Moreover, the research suggests that the costs and rewards calculus with respect to any innovation or program component is uniquely individual. In this regard, some teachers engage in special LRE events because they support the academic LRE program. Others participate to win the mock trial competition. There are no doubt many other reasons as well. Further discussion of this research base may be found in the section on "Individual Characteristics."

SCHOOL DISTRICT CHARACTERISTICS

Discussion of Observations

The OJJDP research effort modified widely used models for looking at organizational change. In this distillation, we divided the change process into three phases: (1) awareness/adoption; (2) implementation; and (3) maintenance/continuation (or institutionalization). Interview questions were framed and observations made concerning categories of information that cut across all three phases. Among the most important questions were those related to the following: (1) organizational route/decision-making style of districts; (2) program leadership and political considerations; (3) district receptivity; (4) reputation of the LRE program; and (5) sources and kinds of program support.

Organizational Route/Decision Making. The case study research indicated that a variety of approaches was effective in securing adoption and implementation of LRE. Depending on the size of the district and specific patterns of organization (both formal and informal), both top-down and bottom-up approaches to innovation worked in the case study sites. In several of the case study sites, the central office coordinator was the key person. In other districts, teachers were the key to initial innovation. In yet others, the key person was the district superintendent or a building principal. The upshot is that there is no general plan or pattern that fits all local situations. With respect to various indicators of institutionalization in specific districts, the case studies also indicate that various routes were more or less effective in securing institutionalization.

Leadership and Political Considerations. Regardless of the organizational route or decision-making style of the case study sites, *leadership was the key* in all phases of the change process. Such leadership appeared to be function-defined rather than role-defined. By that we mean that the role assignments of district personnel were less important than the fact that leadership emerged from one or another source, whether a central office person, superintendent, school board member, principal, or teacher.

District leadership was effective, according to respondents, to the extent that the leader was politically sensitive, attuned to the culture of the school district, and astute with respect to both the formal and informal communications and decision-making networks of the district. Involving certain gatekeepers (their title and position may vary from district to district) – whether as advocates or as informed non-hostile observers – is perceived to be conducive to innovation. In addition, respondents perceived that district program leaders needed access to resources defined in terms of time and money.

In virtually every case, local program advocates perceived various political threats—whether hostile department chairs or unreceptive teachers—to LRE, but they had been able to formulate strategies for dealing with those situations. It appears to be important to recognize that there will be intellectually honest differences of opinion with respect to any innovation.

District Receptivity. Observations about district receptivity to LRE were largely concerned with the perceived needs of people within each district. Respondents indicated a variety of perceived needs to which LRE was seen as a possible solution. These included concern about faltering student citizenship test scores, population turnover and the noticeable increase in minority populations (both in the community and in the schools), the need for "law and order" and respect for rights and responsibilities among students, and the need to inculcate civic values and to decrease delinquency and vandalism. At the same time, some respondents gravitated to LRE because it was personally or professionally attractive, sometimes in terms of its content, sometimes in terms of its interactive teaching strategies, and sometimes because LRE was seen to reinvigorate the teaching and learning process generally. LRE was typically perceived by many advocates to be "what education should be about."

Respondents in some case study sites indicated that proper timing (i.e., fitting an innovation with the district's curriculum review cycle) and consonance with other current educational trends tend to facilitate general district receptivity toward innovations. Many respondents indicated that LRE was initially adopted and implemented during times characterized by general reform ferment in education (e.g., during the "new social studies" era). Other respondents suggested that district receptivity to any innovation tended to diminish if the district was already involved in other unrelated programs/innovations—this principle was seen to be true of districts, administrators, and teachers.

Finally, some respondents suggested that certain teachers resisted innovations because of such other perceived needs/constraints as the "crowded curriculum"; that is, they had too many other things to do already—they did not need yet another demand on their time. Other respondents indicated that some teachers resisted LRE because they were already doing "something better" (which they defined as more important, more interesting, or which they felt more compelled to do) than LRE, at least with respect to their own students and teaching assignments. Elementary teachers in particular voiced the strain they felt by being subjected year after year to program revision cycles (e.g., reading this year, math next year, social studies the year after that). Such continuous revision tended to diminish their enthusiasm for LRE or any other specific innovation.

Reputation of the LRE Program, and Sources and Kinds of Program Support. Observations concerning program reputation and sources and kinds of support suggest that support by respected individuals is important in all phases of program change. Likewise, successful programs tended to achieve mobilization of a variety of networks including superintendents, central office personnel, community resource persons, and school board members. The relative importance of these networks varied by size, type, and style (or culture) of the observed school districts. In addition, program leaders were successful in cultivating a base of internal advocates who were able, in turn, to promote and sustain the innovation.

Other Considerations. With respect to the maintenance and continuation phases of program change, respondents had a variety of insights to share with the field researchers. Many felt that both internal and external support were essential to insure program continuation. Internal support, such as regularly scheduled staff development for new teachers and renewal programs for old hands, was seen as necessary by many teachers. External support (e.g., in the form of notable outside experts) was seen as important for attracting themselves and their colleagues to specific training sessions. Some respondents perceived that their programs had begun to lose energy over time, either because the administration was less supportive than was once the case, because district priorities had

shifted to some degree, or because district resources (for whatever reason) simply were unavailable to sustain the original effort.

While none of our respondents used the term, the research team has termed this phenomenon "entropy," the tendency of all systems to lose energy and become chaotic. Schools and innovative programs are systems, which, without infusions of energy and resources, tend to run down over time. Based on our research and that of others as well, it appears that such entropy can be planned for and meliorated to some extent by local program advocates.

Discussion of Research Base

Research work by Rosenblum and Louis (1979), Miles et al. (1978), Carlson (1972), Havelock and Havelock (1973b), and Daft and Becker (1978) clearly demonstrates the importance of central office support during the adoption phase of program change. While Berman and McLaughlin (1975, 1978) emphasized the role of the principal in program change, Huberman and Crandall (1982) found that "the counteracting evidence here is strong that central office personnel are active scanners—perhaps the only active scanners in the district—and when they fasten on a promising practice, are almost certain to get it adopted locally." The latter finding more closely fits the observations of our research, except, of course, in school districts having no such positions. In those instances, other administrative leadership was more important.

Research by Emrick and Peterson (1978), Berman and McLaughlin (1979), and Rosenblum and Louis (1979) demonstrate that the continuation of administrative support during the implementation and maintenance phases is also important. These studies suggest that top-down models of program change can be effective when certain conditions are met. Again, regardless of the source of program innovation, strong central office support is essential for successful program implementation and continuance (institutionalization).

While the effectiveness of administration-driven innovation has strong support in the research literature, teacher-driven models of program change also have a research base. Daft and Becker (1978), Berman (1981), and Aoki, et al. (1977) all suggest that while teachers are often not well-connected with information dissemination networks in their fields, they can play a vital role in bringing innovations into their school districts. Although stressing the necessity of administrative support for effective innovation, Huberman and Crandall (1982) also recognize that local teacher-initiated change can occur if teachers secure the necessary support of district decision makers. Our review of the research literature suggests that teachers may be more effective in the adoption and implementation phases of innovation, either with or without administrative support, than in the institutionalization phase. In the latter, teachers require more district administrative support.

Sarason (1982), Rogers (1983), Fullan (1982), Miles, Fullan, and Taylor (1978), and a virtually endless list of other researchers have argued that to be successful, innovators must understand the culture of the school, be sensitive to the political nature of innovations, and be aware of the need for normative as well as structural changes that lend support to innovation. Miles (1964), Pankratz, Tanner, Leeke and Moore (1980), and others have advocated the creation of explicitly temporary systems that promote innovations by creating new structural and normative environments and by escaping the barriers to change imposed by working within the culture of existing organizations.

While there is limited research about the effectiveness of incremental growth of innovative programs, there is substantial support for matching resources to tasks that incremental growth promotes. Yin, Herald, and Vogel (1977), in a study of organizational change in a wide variety of settings, found that innovations that could be implemented in increments were more likely to succeed than those that could not. Rosenblum and Louis (1979) reported similar findings. Huberman and

Crandall (1982) suggested that smaller scale projects that allowed targeting of resources had smoother beginnings. Fullan (1982) likewise reported that an incremental strategy is effective, attributing this success to the more balanced match between tasks and resources.

Having an innovation become an established part of school district routines that characterize established courses—curriculum review and textbook adoption cycles, teacher recruitment and training, budgeting, and scheduling—has long been recognized as an essential element of institutionalization. Indeed, these routines comprise the very definition of institutionalization. Sarason (1982), Berman and McLaughlin (1978), and Huberman and Crandall (1982) all stress the importance of incorporating an innovation into the routine practices of the school district.

A sizable body of research focuses on the issue of school district receptivity, but there is little direct evidence about the effect that timing the innovation to coincide with local curriculum cycles may have on implementation and institutionalization. The research cited above, however, strongly suggests that inclusion in those cycles is highly desirable. It is only logical to assume that gaining entrance to those cycles is easiest when they are most open or least rigid, which occurs during the revision and review process. In general, the findings of the research literature with respect to matching innovations to specific local needs cut in two directions. On one hand, Berman and McLaughlin (1977, 1979) demonstrate the benefits of needs-based adoption as compared to opportunistic decision making. Emrick and Peterson (1978) and Louis and Sieber (1979) noted that implementation was more effective when the innovation was responding to a specific perceived need. Rosenblum and Louis (1979) found that formal recognition of an unmet need was one of four factors positively related to later innovation. On the other hand, Huberman and Crandall (1982) found that innovations were not usually adopted in response to an articulated problem but were generally seen as improving classroom instruction and schoolwide management.

While there is little evidence about enhanced receptivity resulting from some fit between the innovation and general educational trends, some peripheral evidence supports this connection. Nelson and Sieber (1976) found that publicity and faddism were major reasons promoting new adoptions, at least among urban secondary school administrators. Wolcott's (1973) study of principals suggests that public relations concerns are a high priority, implying that highly visible (or somehow popular) innovations may be attractive to this group. Katz et al. (1963), House (1974), and Carlson (1972) explore this issue from a more oblique angle, emphasizing the role of peer networks in information dissemination and problem identification. These consistent, if peripheral, research findings suggest that coat-tailing on current educational movements or concerns may enhance the likelihood of an innovation's becoming part of the curriculum.

The importance of responding to teacher concerns, of which the "crowded curriculum" is only one, has long been recognized in the research. Loucks and Hall (1979) have developed an entire staff development model to support innovations based on identifying and responding to progressive stages of teachers' concerns with respect to innovation. Fullan (1982) contends that change must be partially rooted in the resocialization of teachers while attending to their perceived needs. Huberman (1981) stresses that follow-up support responsive to teacher concerns during the initial phases of implementation is a critical variable. Further discussion of these and other issues is presented in the section on "Individual Characteristics."

Miles (1983), Louis (1980), Berman and McLaughlin (1977), Huberman (1981), and others have emphasized the negative consequences of what has become known as "environmental turbulence." Changes in district demographics, budget cuts, mandated curricular changes, and staff turnover are examples of disruptions experienced by school districts. These disruptions have been shown to limit the prospects for implementation and institutionalization of many innovations. Given limited resources and time, such turbulence negatively affects an innovation.

There is little direct evidence that the reputation of an innovation assists local practitioners in adopting, implementing, and institutionalizing the innovation. There is, however, considerable evidence that innovations spread through interpersonal networks. If respected opinion leaders are early adopters, their decision to participate favorably influences others to become involved. Carlson (1972), House (1974), and Huberman and Crandall (1982) persuasively demonstrate the importance of respected educational leaders as torchbearers for innovations. In short, teachers have great credibility among other teachers, administrators among other administrators.

A broad research base supports the idea that mobilizing a range and sufficient number of program advocates is necessary to insure program continuation in the face of environmental turbulence and other destabilizing influences. Fullan (1982) speaks about change as a process of resocialization, which implies the creation of new norms and standards among specific groups. Huberman and Crandall (1982) discuss the importance of developing a cadre of teachers, principals, and central office administrators who have access to the various district resources necessary to support an innovation. House (1974), House and Lapan (1978), and Werner (1980) suggest that teacher-to-teacher interaction is critical for change to become internalized among this group.

In sum, the research suggests that innovation is most likely to succeed (and become institutionalized) when key people in a specific district become advocates or at least tacit supporters. The specific key people will vary from district to district, depending on the structure and organization of the district and even on the personalities/likes and dislikes of the district personnel filling relevant roles and functions. In addition, a number of people representing a wide range of roles must be mobilized to help insure the success of an innovation.

With respect to the process of school district program planning itself, virtually all researchers concur that planning for change is fundamentally important if change is to be effected. Although Fullan (1982), for example, appears to question the possibility of planning for change, a careful reading suggests that he is questioning not the planning process itself, but many of the assumptions upon which planning has traditionally been based and a conception of planning as a hard-and-fast guide to be followed regardless of unanticipated events. In fact, Fullan may be closest to the mark when he states, "the fundamental goal for planners...is to achieve a feel for the change process and the people in it, which entails a blend of research knowledge and experiential knowledge." Lindblom and Cohen (1980) advance a similar argument.

In their research, Huberman and Crandall (1982) report that many of the districts they studied had plans for program continuation, but these plans tended to falter if they overlooked the development of broad-based support or making structural changes in the district. In short, if an innovation's advocates did not reach beyond the classroom, if they did not insure teacher mastery of the innovation, or if they did no more than demonstrate improved student performance, the innovation tended to disappear over time.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Discussion of Observations

The OJJDP research effort focused on several topics with respect to individual characteristics. One set of observations dealt with the issue of receptivity among various groups in the local case study sites. Another set of observations focused on the issue of generating and maintaining the enthusiasm and commitment of program participants.

Information gleaned across sites indicated that some teachers tended to be attracted to LRE while other teachers showed little interest. Respondents suggested that several things accounted for

the interest of those receptive to LRE. Some teachers were receptive because LRE fit their teaching style. Some were receptive because of their interest in the law *per se*. Others said they saw LRE as a vehicle for improved social control inside and outside their classrooms. Yet others were attracted to LRE because they found that LRE strategies and materials were inherently interesting to their students.

Just as a variety of things favorably predisposed teachers to LRE, a variety of things were suggested as operating against it. Some respondents suggested that their own or their colleagues' preferred teaching styles and educational philosophies were incongruent with those characteristics of LRE. Some teachers believed that LRE did not fit well with the content and objectives of their assigned courses. Respondents also indicated that some teachers perceive the curriculum to be too crowded already; that is, they cannot cover all they are expected to cover now, making any additional program (or even unit) out of the question. Finally, some respondents indicated they had little interest in the law and their discipline training and course assignments lay in other areas, particularly history.

At most case study sites, a relatively small band of torchbearing advocates were the driving force behind LRE. A careful examination of these advocates revealed a number of common elements. First, LRE was a high priority to them, and they had developed a high degree of commitment to it. Second, respondents reported that their commitment was generated in a number of ways, with active involvement ranking high among them. Examples of involvement included intensive, long-term training and follow-up experiences that generated collegiality; materials selection and development; conducting awareness sessions for administrators and training for second-generation teachers; and such other activities as conference presentations. Third, many of the LRE advocates perceived themselves as special, sometimes seeing themselves as better teachers than their non-LRE colleagues. Finally, the collected data contained slight evidence that teachers progressed through a series of stages of concern, although the fact that most of the respondents had participated in initial training some time ago (and therefore their initial stages of concern may be forgotten memories) may have skewed the results.

Discussion of Research Base

Fullan (1982) arguably provides one of the most sensible starting points for examining issues related to teacher receptivity when he states that "change is a highly personal experience—each and every one of the teachers who will be affected by change must have the opportunity to work through this experience in a way in which the rewards at least equal the cost." Looking at change in terms of cost/benefit analysis, which Fullan does above, has been a fruitful construct with respect to all actors involved in program change. This idea may be found in much of the research literature on innovation.

Doyle and Ponder (1977-78) suggest that teachers apply a "practicality ethic which has three dimensions"—congruence, instrumentality, and cost. "Congruence" refers to a teacher's estimate of how students will respond to an innovation and how well it fits their particular situation. Benefits might involve increased student interest and achievement. Costs might include the extra effort required to get the increased expected outcomes and the "fit" between the innovation and the teacher's current practice. Other teacher concerns might include what course or courses they are teaching, institutional norms regarding instructional strategies, and the ability level of students in specific courses.

"Instrumentality" refers to the amount of effort teachers must invest in order to translate program rationales and theory into actual classroom practice. For example, theoretical models or "curriculum frameworks" without substantially complete instructional materials are largely impractical. In these

situations, teachers often find the costs of implementation too high, even if theory is congruent with their experience and philosophy, has a solid research base, and is directed toward achieving desirable ends. In short, translating theory into practice, at least for teachers, is most often seen as too time- and energy-consuming to be attractive.

"Costs" is a general summary of the calculations teachers make about an innovation from their personal perspectives: "what do I get for what I have to invest?" Loucks and Crandall (1982) found that among teachers involved in one innovation, two groups emerged: those who faced only modest changes in their behavior to meet the innovation's expectations and those who were required to make substantial changes. For those facing drastic changes in their classroom practices, the cost side of the equation will certainly be higher than for those who can make the transition with relative ease. This is not to suggest that the magnitude of change is the only variable in teachers' cost/benefit calculations, nor that it is necessarily the most important one; it is certainly a consideration, however.

Lortie (1975) and others have consistently noted that the primary motivators for most teachers are intrinsic. It should therefore not be surprising that innovation (change) by its nature poses teacher-perceived costs. Demand for change often implies that something is wrong with current practice. Mastering new behaviors is difficult; it requires time and practice. Initial efforts to change behavior will probably lack the smoothness and comfort associated with long experience. Even if early attempts at change are relatively successful, trying something new and unknown produces anxiety and therefore has a psychic cost.

While innovation contains inherent costs, it also contains potential rewards. The excitement of planning something new to which you are committed, seeing students become engaged learners, developing a further sense of professional competence and mastery, and achieving of sense of collegiality and specialness are good examples of the potential benefits to be derived from innovations (Fullan 1982).

Many of the factors that influence individual receptivity as identified by respondents in the case study research (e.g., fit with teaching style, interest in the law, improved social control, curricular fit, student enthusiasm, and anxiety over dealing with the crowded curriculum) will vary among potential LRE teachers. Each potential LRE teacher will differ with respect to his/her interest in and receptivity to LRE, largely as a result of individual cost/benefit analysis.

Fullan (1982) argues persuasively that change is not only organizational and structural (correcting Miles' model of change in this important respect), but individual and personal as well. Fullan points to the need for administrative support and encouragement (supported by Huberman 1981) and "sustained interaction and staff development" as necessary ingredients for new norms (which support new behaviors) to emerge. Fullan equates effective staff development with resocialization. Furthermore, he contends that resocialization must begin wherever the teachers currently are and then must move them toward the objectives of the innovation. At the same time, the demands of the innovation must be tempered to adjust it to reality as perceived by teachers.

Although the case study research sponsored by OJJDP uncovered little about the stages of teacher concerns, a substantial body of research literature exists on this topic. The work of Hall, Loucks, and their colleagues at the University of Texas (e.g., Loucks and Hall 1979) shows that teachers involved in an innovation progress through a series of stages of concern. Their work suggests that teacher concerns move along a continuum that begins with teachers having little or no interest in the innovation and ending with teachers being concerned about refining, extending, and improving the innovation. The specific stages of this concerns-based adoption model are:

- Teachers have little or no interest in the innovation.

- Teachers become curious about the innovation.
- Teachers begin to seriously consider how the innovation will affect them personally.
- Teachers begin to explore possible management issues.
- Teachers become concerned about student impact.
- Teachers become concerned with how the innovation can be related to other teachers.
- Teachers begin to refocus and become concerned with refining, extending, and improving the program.

Although the case study research in this report adduced little evidence about this concerns-based model, it appears to have relevance with respect to teacher receptivity to LRE, to training, and to a number of other issues.

MANNER OF IMPLEMENTATION

Discussion of Observations

Students of organizational change almost universally agree that the manner in which an innovation is implemented virtually dictates its prospects for institutionalization. Observations and respondents' perceptions at the case study sites support this conventional wisdom. The following discussion is organized into three categories: training and support, infusion, and mandates.

Training and Support. Respondents at the case study sites discussed a number of factors that they perceived influenced the prospects for institutionalizing LRE in their districts. The following were all seen to exert a powerful influence: (1) distribution of training over time (timing); (2) the quality of training, defined in terms of intensity and types of training activities; (3) characteristics of the audience; and (4) characteristics of the trainer or trainers.

In terms of the timing of training, respondents across sites suggested that high-quality *initial* training was critical to the success of the local LRE program. Many believed that high quality front-end training—which they defined as preparing teachers to return to their classes and experience success—not only contributed to teachers' willingness to implement LRE, but also had a bearing on whether they would continue to refine their LRE skills. In addition to front-end training, teachers across the case study sites emphasized the need for long-term follow-up training, continuing resources to support their efforts, and opportunities to share implementation issues with their colleagues.

According to our respondents, however, initial training in LRE was not sufficient to sustain the program. Maintaining high levels of enthusiasm was linked to having continuing opportunities for renewal and involvement. Not only is continuous training important to succor the initial advocates, it is also important for the new teachers constantly coming into the system. This should come as no surprise. Schools are dynamic systems with constant changes in personnel, priorities, and resources. To view them as static systems in which programs will just somehow continue after they have been put in place is to invite destabilization and discontinuance.

With respect to the quality of training issue, teachers across sites reported that intense training experiences had a salutary impact on themselves and their colleagues. Some observed that training was almost like a "conversion experience." Several models of intensive training were undertaken in the case study sites. One such model achieved intensity by requiring teachers to participate in many hours of training distributed over several months. Another effective model of training involved concentrated multi-day initial training coupled with long-term follow-up and support. In either model,

teachers were able to internalize principles of LRE and apply those principles in the classroom, in selecting or developing materials, and in expanding their involvement in the LRE program.

Training that matched the felt needs and concerns of teachers was seen to be effective training. Providing rationales for LRE during training seemed to persuade some teachers of the importance and effectiveness of the program. Giving teachers opportunities to actually experience LRE not only enhanced teaching skills, but also generated a sense of enthusiasm and commitment that sustained some participants through difficult phases of implementation.

Case study data also suggested that training needs varied widely across audiences. Middle school teachers responsible for teaching an LRE course, for example, had different training needs than elementary teachers preparing to infuse LRE. Teachers who were "old hands" with respect to LRE had different needs compared to relative novices. Teachers already comfortable with or predisposed toward interactive teaching strategies perceived their training needs as being different than those of more traditional teachers.

Characteristics of LRE trainers also influenced the nature of the training and therefore implementation and prospects for institutionalization. Case study data suggest that the following characteristics were perceived to be influential: (1) modeling of LRE strategies by the trainers (e.g., use of outside resource persons, case study analysis) encouraged teachers to use those strategies in their own classes; (2) the participation of trainers from national projects promoted a sense of specialness among trainees and, in some instances, attracted volunteer participants to training sessions; (3) including local teacher/presenters in training conveyed to some participants a feeling of ease, reality, and practicality ("If Joe can do it in his class, so can I"), as well as an identified resource from whom help could be sought after the out-of-town expert left.

Closely related to the notion that teachers are perceived as credible trainers is the idea that under certain conditions, teacher mentoring can be an effective staff development technique. Mentoring was effective in those districts in which large-scale staff development was either unnecessary or impractical. Respondents suggested that networking among LRE teachers, while not always an organized approach to staff development, served to maintain enthusiasm, motivation, and commitment among local advocates.

Infusion as a Strategy for Implemention. The case studies also shed valuable light on infusion as a strategy for implementing LRE. Infusion of LRE was universally favored by both teacher and administrator respondents in the case study sites as a (some suggested the only) viable vehicle for assuring that *every student will have an LRE experience*. Many teachers and administrators in the case study sites also believed that infusion was working. Others believed that infusion was working, given a variety of real world constraints, but they were not yet satisfied with the number of teachers actually infusing LRE lessons and activities in their courses.

Teachers of some courses, particularly government and civics, seemed to be very receptive to LRE because of the fit between LRE and the content and objectives of those courses. This was especially true for government and civics teachers whose courses were two semesters long. Those teaching one-semester courses perceived LRE to be consonant with respect to content and objectives but often did not include it because of time constraints. Those elementary teachers who perceived a fit between LRE and their own objectives (e.g., the importance of rules, responsibilities) were also receptive to infusing LRE lessons in their classes. However, concerns about always being pressed for time ("the crowded curriculum") and being responsive to the specific needs of their students ("reading scores for this group are very low") were countervailing forces that acted against infusion. Teachers of other social studies courses (e.g., U.S. history) appeared to be generally less receptive

to LRE, largely because of perceived time constraints and less apparent fits with course content and objectives.

While local respondents were generally content with their infusion implementation strategies, if one applies a more rigorous standard for what infusion might mean—e.g., the systematic inclusion of a similar quantity and quality of LRE instruction in all courses of similar description in a school district—LRE infusion of this sort could not be found. To be sure, the foregoing definition of infusion is arguable at best. Indeed, it is quite possible that any infused innovation (and perhaps any particular course) could not stand up to such a rigorous definition. Nevertheless, if infusion continues to be seen as an implementation strategy of choice among LRE practitioners, and if the concern about providing students with a *sufficient quantity and quality of LRE instruction* continues to be an important objective of LRE programs, the infusion issue requires further scrutiny.

Mandates. Most respondents felt that mandates offered the most direct way to guarantee a place for LRE in the curriculum. There was also almost universal agreement that mandating LRE without providing adequate resources could adversely affect an LRE program. By expanding the number of teachers required to teach LRE, mandating almost inevitably implies that some teachers are going to be forced to teach LRE even though their interests, teaching styles, and general receptivity augur against their enthusiastic acceptance of the new assignment. Such teachers will probably require a much larger investment of training and resources to get them "up to speed" with respect to LRE. Mandated LRE courses, implemented without sufficient training and support for teachers, were often less than the mandates intended.

Discussion of the Research Base

A substantial body of research focuses on models of program implementation. Research literature on staff development is also relevant to this topic. With respect to the timing of training (i.e., at what point in innovation is training most effective to insure change?), Berman and McLaughlin (1978), Downey et al. (1975), Smith and Keith (1971), and others suggest that pre-implementation training alone is ineffective in promoting innovation. Rosenblum and Louis (1979) found that any form of "one-shot" training, even prior to or during implementation, was not helpful in sustaining innovation. The most effective model of training they reported involved a significant amount of front-end training coupled with periodic training during implementation. Berman and McLaughlin (1978) corroborate this view, arguing that front-end training of sufficient duration and quality to insure a high probability of initial classroom success must be followed by frequent support during actual implementation. Huberman (1981) reported that follow-up support that responded to teacher concerns during implementation was critical for program success. Fullan (1982) argues that "no matter how much advance staff development occurs, it is when people actually try to implement new approaches that they have the most specific concerns and doubts."

Huberman and Crandall (1982) suggest that teachers who encounter poor student performance, who have difficulty applying new strategies, or who encounter other problems during the early phases of implementation are likely to abandon the innovation unless their concerns are addressed. Lortie (1975) observed that if teachers perceive a decline in student learning, a loss of interest, or classroom management and control problems, they are likely to revert to their old practices.

With respect to the quality and duration of training, Joyce and Showers (1980-81) in a meta-analysis of research on staff develop concluded that training must include theory, demonstration, practice, feedback and application, and coaching. Loucks and Hall (1978) approach staff development from the point of view of practitioner concerns (the concerns-based adoption model). While diverging in some details, these models of staff development are highly consistent: each requires

moving from theoretical foundations of an innovation to ever-more practical, hands-on experiences that demonstrate the innovation.

The research also contains insights about the role of internal and external change agents. Huberman and Crandall (1982) argue persuasively that both types of change agents have a valuable role to play in educational change. "The implementation of practices contributing concretely to school improvement," they contend, "appears to live or die by the presence of external agents who deliver, broker, or lay the groundwork for these efforts." What was more, they found that sites using both internal and external facilitators had higher levels of use than sites using only external ones.

The research literature is relatively harsh with respect to the effectiveness of external agents as trainers while generally supporting the inclusion of teachers as trainers. Fullan (1982), McLaughlin and Marsh (1978), and others have described the limited results achieved by most external trainers. However, they also note that most of the training sessions they reviewed were not ongoing, interactive, or designed to provide cumulative learning. National Training and Dissemination Program training designs, coupling local and national trainers in both training and follow-up, supply many of the elements found missing in other training designs.

Hord et al. (1987), Huberman and Crandall (1982), and Fullan (1982) all discuss program implementation needs that can only be addressed by internal (or local) expertise. While external agents can deliver relatively inexpensive and high-quality training and other sporadic assistance, someone at the local level must be available to provide continuing follow-up support, provide feedback, coach, monitor program implementation, secure resources, schedule training, and the like. To be sure, some of these activities can be supported and accomplished by external agents, but they have a relatively higher likelihood of success if delivered from within.

Louis (1980) and Berman and McLaughlin (1977) have sensitized change agents to staff turnover as one of the most serious threats to program continuation. Their work suggests that simply having a program in place and all of the appropriate teachers trained does not insure that trained teachers will be available in several years to teach the program. Their findings substantiate the need for ongoing training just to maintain a cadre of prepared instructors.

Not only must new teachers be inducted into the innovation, but the enthusiasm and commitment of experienced teachers must be maintained. The concept of "burnout" among teachers, documented by National Education Association polls (1980) and research by Cherniss (1980), has become part of the conventional wisdom. Case study respondents reported a need for periodic professional renewal updating their content and instructional skills. Highly demanding innovations and those concerned with dynamic (even volatile) information bases require continuous cycles of training.

In addition to traditional staff development activities that promote implementation, seldom-used approaches to teacher enhancement also have a research base. Both mentoring and networking were mentioned by case study respondents as factors promoting LRE. Elliot (1976-1977), Fullan (1982), and others have noted that teachers consistently report that their most valuable source of new ideas and classroom activities is other teachers. Lortie (1975) suggested that collegial sharing of information, although it happens infrequently, is a powerful force for change. Devaney's (1977) research on teacher centers a decade ago provides additional evidence that structural changes that promote sharing can, in turn, promote significant behavioral change among participants. In short, mentoring and networking could play a significant role in providing follow-up support and assistance during the initiation and implementation phases of innovation.

There is little direct research on infusion as a strategy of implementation. Nevertheless, some of the research is suggestive with respect to this issue. McKibbin and Joyce (1980), for example, found

wide variations in teachers' receptivity to staff development opportunities. Doyle and Ponder's (1977-78) use of cost-benefit analysis to explain differential teacher responses to innovations is consistent. Loucks and Crandall (1982) discovered that teachers involved in innovations either required little change in behavior or required rather major changes, depending on the fit between the expectations of the innovation and teachers' normal practice. These findings may have relevance for infusion.

In the case study sites, infusing LRE was optional or voluntary. Interestingly, Rosenblum and Louis (1979) discovered an inverse relationship between teacher autonomy and program implementation; that is, the more choices teachers had, the less likely they were to implement an innovation as it was intended. For many teachers, the costs of implementing an innovation are too high compared to the benefits they may derive.

The case studies also provided evidence that factual information (content) was more likely to be infused than the instructional strategies that characterize LRE. Other research bears on this observation. Goodlad and Klein (1970), McNair and Joyce (1978-79), and Galton and Simon (1980) found that the majority of teacher time and attention is devoted to teaching specific facts rather than skill or concept development. For many teachers, coverage of course material is their most important objective. Given this priority, it should not be surprising that some teachers are more comfortable adding a few additional bits of information to their collection than making significant changes in their normal teaching practices. The striking difference between LRE instructional strategies and typical classroom instructional practices reported by Goodlad (1984), Lightfoot (1984), and many others suggests that content is much more easily infused than are new teaching methods.

Early students of educational change tended to focus on the adoption process; they largely assumed that once an innovation was adopted, the hard work was done—the program would just somehow continue. Mandating was therefore assumed to be effective in producing change. Even a sophisticated analyst such as Matthew Miles (1983) suggested in his model of institutionalization that mandating can be an effective tool in producing administrative pressure to implement an innovation, thereby promoting a higher percentage of user involvement and subsequent institutionalization. However, the case study research suggested that mandating was relatively ineffective in producing institutionalization, at least without the provision of sufficient training and other resources. On the other hand, mandating was effective in promoting institutionalization when accompanied by training and resource support.

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Appendix B

Background on the SSEC and Project Staff

The Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. (SSEC)

The SSEC observes its 26th anniversary this year. Since its founding, the SSEC's major focus has been improvement of social studies/social science education at all levels through such activities as curriculum development, dissemination, teacher training, and evaluation. One of the organization's primary missions is to develop links between and among nationwide communities of scholars, curriculum developers, and elementary and secondary teachers and administrators.

SSEC has worked in and promoted law-related education for many years. SSEC has evaluated a variety of LRE projects, including (with the Center for Action Research) the research and development phase of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention LRE program, the Close Up Foundation, Close Up's Partner's Program, the Cleveland Foundation, the Detroit Street Law project, and the ABA' National Endowment for the Humanities-funded LRE project. In addition, in 1980-81 and 1981-82, SSEC held contracts with the U.S. Department of Education to provide technical assistance in evaluation to LRE projects around the country.

SSEC has also sponsored the Colorado Legal Education Program which has, for 15 years, sought to improve the teaching of LRE in Colorado schools. Teacher training, leadership training, LRE conferences, and teacher institutes are among the services SSEC/CLEP has provided to Colorado schools. SSEC/CLEP maintains an extensive lending library of LRE curriculum and scholarly materials. Finally, SSEC has published a number of widely used LRE curriculum materials, including *Law in the Classroom*, *Law in U.S. History*, *Lessons on the Constitution* (with APSA), *Evaluating Social Studies Programs: Focus on Law-Related Education*, and the revised *Public Issues Series* (the Harvard Social Studies Project).

OJJDP Research Project Staff

James R. Giese. Giese received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Colorado-Boulder in 1979. He joined the staff of the Social Science Education Consortium in 1983 as an evaluator and ethnographer. In 1986, Giese was appointed the SSEC's Executive Director. During his tenure at SSEC, Giese has directed numerous projects funded by such agencies as the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the U.S. Department of Education, and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Giese has been involved in educational planning and evaluation, textbook and curriculum materials writing and evaluation, and varied dissemination activities. His publications include *A Humanities Approach to Early National U.S. History* (two volumes, SSEC, 1985), *United States History to 1988* (textbook, in press), *United States History: A Resource Book for Secondary School Students, Teachers, and Librarians* (two volumes, ABC-Clio, 1989), and several booklets in the *Public Issues Series*.

Giese has extensive experience in law-related education. With respect to evaluation, he was a field ethnographer and evaluator during the research and development phase of the OJJDP LRE program. He has participated in a number of evaluation studies of LRE programs including the Detroit Street Law project, the Close Up Partners Program, and the Cleveland Foundation- sponsored Law and Public Service Magnet School in that city. Giese has been responsible for SSEC's evaluation work on the National Training and Dissemination Program for the past four years, including major roles with respect to conceptualizing, researching, critiquing, and writing portions of this report.

G. Dale Greenawald. Greenawald received his D.A. in history from Carnegie Mellon University, where he worked with Dr. Edwin Fenton on the CMU Civic Education Project. He holds two degrees in modern European history. Before joining SSEC as a Staff Associate in 1978, Greenawald taught

secondary social studies. At the SSEC, Greenawald worked primarily in the area of citizenship education—as a trainer, curriculum developer, and evaluator. In the early 1980s, Greenawald served as the Director of Social Studies for the West Virginia Department of Education. In that capacity, he was responsible for developing a K-12 social studies framework, providing training and support for all K-12 social studies programs, selecting and developing state tests, and conducting a range of special projects. Since 1985, Greenawald has provided consultant services to a wide range of clients, including the American Bar Association, Newsweek, the Close Up Foundation, and the Constitutional Rights Foundation, as well as serving as a Staff Associate/Evaluator at the SSEC. Greenawald has authored or co-authored five books, including *Evaluating Social Studies Programs: Focus on Law-Related Education* (1982), and scores of articles and papers.

Greenawald has extensive experience in law-related education. He was an ethnographer and evaluator on the SSEC/CAR research team during the research and development phase of OJJDP's LRE program. Greenawald was a major staff person on the Department of Education project providing technical assistance to state and local LRE programs with respect to evaluation. Greenawald has been integrally involved in the research on institutionalizing LRE programs reported here, including conceptualizing the study, reviewing the research literature on educational change and institutionalization, conducting ethnographic research in four of the eight case study sites, and writing major portions of the final report.

Barbara Miller. Miller holds a B.A. in history education from Simpson College and an M.A. in the same area from Mankato State University. She has completed her coursework for a doctorate in secondary social studies curriculum at the University of Colorado-Boulder. Miller taught junior high school social studies for seven years and for ten years served as the K-12 social studies coordinator for the Aurora (Colorado) Public Schools, in which capacity her responsibilities were wide-ranging. She has served as a consulting editor to *Social Studies* and is currently on the Board of Directors of AEGIS, a consortium of organizations concerned with global education.

Since joining the SSEC in 1984, Miller has directed the Colorado Civic/Legal Education Program. In 1986, she co-directed a U.S. Department of Education-funded program for institutionalizing LRE in Colorado schools. In these projects, Miller has conducted summer institutes, statewide public/private partnership conferences, and numerous teacher-training activities. In addition, Miller has served as master teacher in several NEH-funded summer institutes, has directed a schools-based project that introduces mediation and conflict resolution skills to students, and has directed two teacher-training projects funded by the U.S. Bicentennial Commission. With respect to the OJJDP research project on institutionalizing LRE, Miller conducted four of the eight on-site field investigations and has drafted major portions of the report.

James Schott. Schott earned his Ph.D. in the foundations of education from the University of Colorado in 1981. He also holds an M.A. in economics education and a B.A. in distributed social studies and education. In addition to nine years experience as a secondary social studies teacher, he has been an educational consultant and writer. Schott was also director of education for the Colorado Historical Society and director of the Boulder Community Schools Project. Before joining the SSEC staff in 1988, Schott was an assistant professor of education at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater. He is the co-author of a college textbook, *Social Foundations of Education*, and has authored numerous articles as well as curriculum materials.

While Schott has had extensive experience in social studies education at all levels, he is relatively new to LRE. As such Schott brings a fresh perspective to LRE and the institutionalization process. Schott has had extensive experience in evaluation, having served on North-Central district accreditation teams. With respect to the OJJDP research on institutionalizing LRE, Schott was involved in the

latter stages of the work, particularly in drafting case study narratives, in drafting major portions of this report, and in critiquing and revising other portions of the report.

Laurel Singleton. Singleton holds a B.A. in political science and an M.S. in communications from the University of Illinois. She directed the editorial and production department for a publishing company. Currently Singleton is a Senior Staff Associate and Managing Editor of the Social Science Education Consortium. In that capacity, she directs SSEC's active publications program, which in the past year has issued 14 new titles, ranging from *Improving Research in Social Studies Education* to significantly revised versions of the *Public Issues Series*. She has also worked as a curriculum developer, trainer, evaluator, and editor on numerous projects. Among her recent publications are such works as *U.S. History: A Resource Book for Secondary School Students, Teachers, and Librarians* (two volumes, ABC-Clio, 1989), *The Tool Kit: Building Support for Social Studies* (NCSS 1987), and *Science/Technology/Society: Training Manual* (SSEC, 1988).

Singleton was a Staff Associate at SSEC from 1977 to 1983, during which time she served on the SSEC/CAR evaluation team in the research and development phase of the OJJDP LRE program. Since 1987, she has been Senior Staff Associate at SSEC and has been responsible for writing and editing various information products and assessment reports, including this one.